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Technology and Social Activism: An Empirical Study of the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) by Indian Single-Issue Groups

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Abstract

This thesis explores the role of new Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) in political organisation. It explores the use of ICTs by single-issue groups – the emergence of which has become a salient feature of contemporary political activity. There has been considerable interest amongst politicians, activists, commentators and social scientists in the contribution of ICT (eg. social media) to democracy and the renewal of political life. Optimistic accounts are especially evident around 'the Arab Spring', though subsequent experiences have called into question the prevalent technological utopianism of the time. Despite this, we are now building a complete picture of how ICT can contribute to the political organisation. In particular, the significance of new media and technology for single issue groups has not yet been explored in developing countries context. This thesis, therefore, examines the characteristics of single issue groups and how social activists appropriated new media tools and its consequences for political organisation in a developing country: India. A qualitative study was undertaken to focus on two detailed case studies: India Against Corruption (IAC) and the Pink Chaddi campaign. IAC was the traditional activist organisation that used new media to its advantage whereas Pink Chaddi was the pioneering example of online social activism in the India. Forty-three semi-structured interviews were conducted with a range of actors involved to understand how single-issue groups appropriated technology and how new practices have emerge from this appropriation.

Drawing upon the Social Shaping of Technology perspective (Williams & Edge, 1996) and its extension to Social Learning (Sørensen, 1996), the thesis refutes prevalent deterministic accounts (whether utopian or dystopian) of the impact of new technologies on political organisations. Instead, a detailed account is rendered of the adoption of various communication media and their utilisation in the particular practices and activities of the single-issue groups selected. The results demonstrate that the particular setting shapes the appropriation of new media and the development of new organisation practices: the skills resources and strategies of the local players involved as well as the availability and affordances of technology. The thesis introduces the concept of 'creative configuration' – to capture the innovative and adaptive process by which the actors involved explored the applicability of general purpose technology infrastructure and tools, assisted by forms of local expertise available to hand, to support organisational objectives. The research examines the applicability of the theory of temporary organisation (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995) to the activities of single-issue groups. It suggests an extension of this theory, highlighting how 'technology' acts as a catalyst to sustain temporary organisations such as single-issue groups. Further, a framework for sustainable local innovations is proposed to explore lessons for organisations in exploiting technologies sustainably and more efficiently.

Keywords: Temporary Organisations, Social Shaping of Technology, Configurations, Affordance, Appropriation

Chapter 1: Introduction

Social movements are pathways towards augmenting democratic participation and public policy. The modern single-issue group movement became important from the 1970s, mainly in the 'West' – especially in environmentalism, feminism and anti-nuclear (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, & Wollebaek, 2012; Fominaya & Cox, 2013; Osborne, 2008; Tesh, 1984; West & Blumberg, 1991). Internet seems to have given new strength to be part of social movements particularly single-issue groups that are formed to achieve a particular social cause (Enjolras et al., 2012; Harlow, 2012; Shirky, 2011; Stein, 2009). Though the adoption of new media in the society in last few decades has deepened and broadened the contours of political communication, there is a lack of empirical studies discussing the practicalities of this communication and how technology and new media are appropriated by Single Issue Interest Groups¹ (SIGs) and other political organisations to achieve their goals (Agre, 2002; Farrell, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2016; Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015; Sen, Spyridakis, Amtmann, & Lee, 2010; Shirky, 2011; Wills & Reeves, 2009). Issues of the sustainability and effectiveness of political organisation are of particular importance in developing countries, where single issue groups often lack funds and expertise and are needing to find ways to take quick actions and raise large-scale awareness (Gowda, 2011; Goyal & Marshall, 2013; Khandekar & Reddy, 2013).

Further, “many questions remain unanswered about how different kinds of activists, mobilized around different types of issues and distinct types of social movements, employ new communication technologies as a means to be informed on

¹ SIGs are also termed as social movement organisations (SMO).

and be mobilized for collective action”(Van Laer, 2010, p 406). Addressing these issues, my research study found social activists appropriated information and communication technologies (ICT) that lead to the emergence of new social practices. A qualitative investigation was undertaken of these emerging phenomena in a developing country – India – using different case studies. Forty-three semi-structured interviews were conducted to understand how the single-issue groups have appropriated technology and how these new affordances are enabling the construction of unique organisational forms in the Indian social movements. This inquiry has given the insights on the convergence of the online and offline media. Further, it has provided empirical evidence on how social activists appropriate general-purpose infrastructure to develop the local practices with the assistance of locally available expertise.

1.1 Global ICT Innovations

These debates about the role of technology in political communication took place in a context characterised by the rapid uptake of waves of radical innovations based on computing, the internet and mobile telephony, emerging in the West and bringing far reaching changes in business, public administration and everyday life. India has developed its own thriving ICT sector - primarily the result of American MNCs outsourcing Information Technology Enabled Services/Business Process Outsourcing (ITeS/BPO) services to Bengaluru and other parts of India in early nineties (Penter, Pervan, & Wreford, 2009). In 2017, the National Association of Software and Services Companies² suggested that the Indian IT industry is worth

² Indian IT-BPM Industry Report 2017 <http://www.nasscom.in/knowledge-center/publications/it-bpm-industry-india-2017-strategic-review>

\$154bn (poised to grow \$350bn by 2025) providing direct employment to over 2.5 million people. ICT adoptions were not just limited to technology sector, other businesses embraced the IT innovations but had direct effect on the social, political and economic life of the Indians. This was the period in which mobile communication and social media were taken up by large segment of the Indian population (for further details refer to Section 2.4.2 – Mobile Revolution in India).

In developing countries particularly in Asia, there was enormous enthusiasm about the potential contribution of ICT to support social movements and the massive proliferation of civil society-based development initiatives. There were also apprehensions that it might augment social inequalities and in particular a digital divide between urban and rural populations. Some initial research in India found that role of ICT in development of women and underprivileged section of society has been abysmally low (Sreekumar, 2007) which has not been tested further. The role of ICT later became more intense as many kinds of literature tested if online activism has currently replaced offline activism or just complement it or an optimum combination of online and offline activism work best both in emerging and developed economies (Ganesh & Stohl, 2010; Harlow & Harp, 2012; Rao & Dutta, 2017; Van Laer, 2010). In this thesis, I will debate further on the complementarity of online and offline social activism in the later chapters.

In the 1990s, Zapatistas of Chiapas from Mexico used ICT for civil resistance with a defensive approach (Benski, Langman, Perugorria, & Tejerina, 2013). They used the internet to denounce the injustice and ill-treatment of higher class in Mexico which was noticed by worldwide web. The late 90s, Social Movement Organisations (SMO)s used the internet as a platform "to inform, mobilise and coordinate

mobilisation" (Benski et al., 2013, p 541). With the growing role of ICT in social movements, the outreach of social movement has widened. Social movement existence is based on three pre-conditions problematising, mobilisation, and stabilisation. Role of ICT in the collective framing of the problem and supporting the societal structure was growing rapidly. Situationally bound movements precisely lead to heterogeneity in the movement in contemporary western societies (Rucht & Neidhardt, 2002).

1.2 Focus of the research

During the last decade, the increasing use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has given a new dimension to political communication and social activism. Political parties, NGOs and activists are progressively using ICTs to communicate, collaborate, and demonstrate, to achieve their public policy goals. The new communication opportunities afforded by such technologies appear to have instigated enhanced collective actions and political engagement. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines - from *communication studies* (Carr, 2003; Conole & Dyke, 2004; Gerbaudo, 2016; Kwon, Nam, & Lackaff, 2011; Shannon, 2007), *political science* (Agre, 2002; Bimber, 2003; Blattberg, 2000; Boulianne, 2009; Gerodimos, 2004; Robles, 2011; Williams & Gulati, 2007), *information systems* (Aronson, 2012; Chadwick, 2008; Gowda, 2011; Karpf, 2010; Pollock & Williams, 2010; Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008; Williams & Edge, 1996), *the social sciences and humanities* (Coakes & Smith, 2007; Radjou, Prabhu, & Ahuja, 2012; Tiwari & Herstatt, 2012; Von Hippel, 2001) - are working to understand the causes and limitation of this new avatar of social activism and track the changes in techno-socio-political structure. The popularity of social media tools, such as Facebook and Twitter, have created easy

opportunities for people to start a petition group on the social media, from the comfort of their homes, for any cause that is to their tastes. It is said, whether due to the ease of participation or level of reach, that online activism has come of age (Cornelissen, Karelaia, & Soyer, 2012; Enjolras et al., 2012; Ingenito, 2010; Karpf, 2010).

In the last few years, the growth in social activism, in parts, be directly attributed to the rise of social media and ICTs (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015; Sen et al., 2010; Stein, 2009). Examples of single-issue interest groups using ICT have emerged from across the world. One of the most visible ones was “The Arab Spring” – the term given for the uprising of democratic movements in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and many other Arabian countries – which can be seen as a type of a single-issue-group, where the declared motive of the activists was to overthrow the dictators and restore democracy. The protesters adopted civil resistance in sustained campaigns involving strikes, demonstrations, marches and rallies, as well as the use of social media to organize, communicate, and raise awareness in the face of state attempts at repression and internet censorship (Anderson, 2011; Howard et al., 2011; Khalidi, 2011; S. Schwartz, 2011). At least initially, the Arab spring rekindled these optimistic accounts of the political consequences of ICT³ Use by social movements, which with the passage of time have not necessarily realised. Technology has given power back in the hands of the people - the collective action has given an opportunity to the citizens to raise their voices. In subsequent cases of “The Pink-Chaddi Campaign” and “India Against Corruption”, protesters were able to achieve their objectives

³ Information, and Communication Technology (ICT) is synonymously being used as ‘Technology’ in the thesis to maintain the simplicity of reading.

through smart usage of the social media, technology and Internet. This study provides evidence to support a less optimistic – or perhaps more realistic account.

For many decades, political professionals, interest groups and other elites dominated effective political communication. The central sources of information in the hands of a few have given them the power and authority to rule the masses. The decentralisation of access to information will increase citizens' access, participation and influence. Recent happenings in the Arab world support the claims for Internet's ability to fuel populist sentiments. The Arab Spring's activists used online social media, news networks, chat rooms, telecommunication networks and email communications to collaborate with the separate groups that eventually brought down the old regimes. The Arab Spring is a classic example of how decentralisation of information can activate and fuel the populist sentiments (Khalidi, 2011).

In last two decades, with the bricks-and-mortars (read traditional) businesses migrating to click businesses (read e-business) political campaign and social movements have been also migrating from traditional approach to electronic approach through ICT (Morris, 2000; Sunstein, 2007; Trippi, 2008; Wattal, Schuff, Mandviwalla, & Williams, 2010; Weill & Vitale, 2001). Wattal et al., (2010) suggested that politics is drifting from place to space. Migration from place to space started several decades ago through television and radio; however, TV/radio, telephone and even writing are an example of one-to-many communication methods. The new age ICTs, especially blogs, social networks and video sharing, created opportunities for many-to-many communications, also enabling the masses to interact with the candidate or organisation directly. The campaign managers are dividing their time and responsibilities between offline and online campaigns.

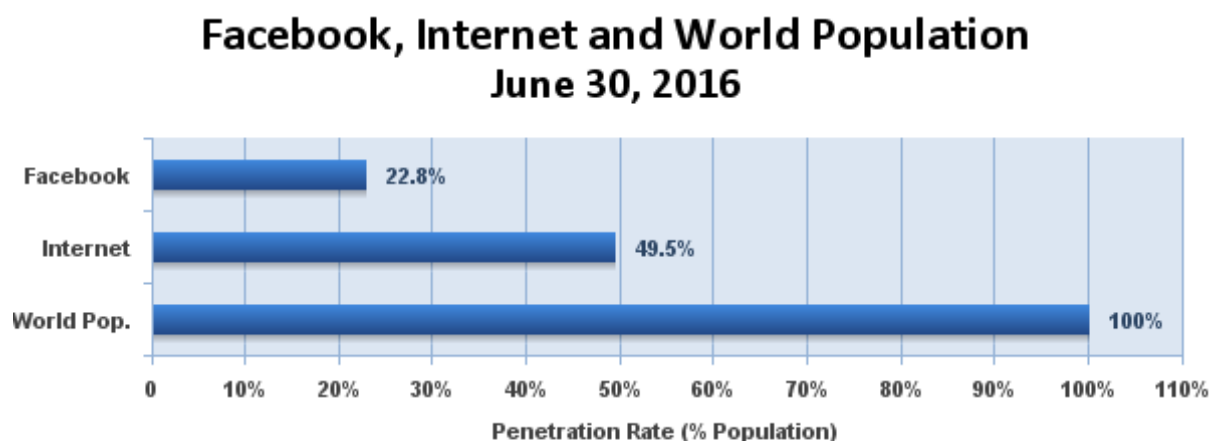
According to Buechler, (1997) and Meyer & Tarrow (1998), the global society is shifting from intermittent cycles of protest to a permanently mobilised society, in which movements spread and diffuse around the world at the great speed. ICTs are changing how activists communicate, collaborate and demonstrate. The ability to involve a sizeable number of collaborators over considerable distances is one of the hallmarks of the social media. To understand these, we must first address the emergence and social embedding of these technologies – to the mutual shaping of technology and society (Williams & Edge, 1996). Specifically, we address the couplings between particular ICT affordances and social practices (Procter, Williams, & Stewart, 2010) and we then explore how these socio-technical practices have been reconfigured in the new forms.

Technology is reducing the cost and other barriers to communication and engagement. Some scholars have argued that new media technologies will thereby support an increasingly pluralistic society (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Bimber, Stohl, & Flanagin, 2009; Bimber, 2003). There is a significant emergence of empirical literature in the last couple of years examining the role of ICT/social media in politics; the general perception among the academics is that the Internet will fuel the populist sentiments and hence that the political elites/ intermediaries will diminish in importance (Aronson, 2012; Chadwick, 2006; Gowda & Prakash, 2014; Kwon et al., 2011; Rodrigues, 2014; Yuan, 2013). The populism of Internet implies that the community-at-large would be participating in the political processes, present their views to the political leadership and will be less dependent on the organisational structures and groups. In the current context, it can also be argued that the citizens will directly participate in the political decision-making process, e.g., through online

referenda. In Switzerland, interest groups can call for a referendum by collecting 100,000 signatures, to propose policy changes at the policy level. These referenda are organised three to four times a year, and the voting happens online or by using network connected devices. Through the Internet, the process of collection of signatures has become faster, smoother and reaches more Swiss citizens.

In this thesis, I am exploring cases of technology appropriation by single-issue social activists in India. Though the telecom revolution in India started almost two decades ago, yet the new media tools such as Facebook started picking up steam around 2008. Facebook first has begun gathering popularity among the urban educated youth that had access to Internet infrastructure and equipment to access the website, now the stats shows Facebook is been adopted by almost 45% of the internet using global population (fig 1.1).

Fig 1.1: Facebook vs Internet vs World Population



Source: Internet World Stats - www.internetworldstats.com/facebook.htm
1,679,433,530 estimated Facebook users in the World on June 30, 2016 and 3,631,124,813 Internet users in the World on June 30, 2016 with a total estimated world population of 7,340,094,096 persons.
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New media tools provided the flexibility, connectivity and approach that were not available through the traditional media. Other than Facebook, blogs emerged as

another popular method of sharing views on the Internet. Subsequently, there emerged a new breed of activism – sometimes classified as "armchair activism" (Butler, 2011a; Karpf, 2010) – participation in the cause mainly through online or social media tools.

Another classification of activists can be introduced as "hybrid activists" - these are the activists who have taken up online tools as part of political action. In the Arab world, these single-issue movements faced violent state resistance; whereas in India, similar uprisings against corruption have been completely non-violent. In the last few years, several such single-issue groups have created political influence and awareness, raising concerns concerning the public at-large.

1.3 Motivation for the research

Through this research, I wish to understand the structure and creation of single issue group. SIGs have become relevant actors in the democratic societies, bringing people together based on the distinct cultural or political denominators. These groups are formed for various political reasons, such as concerns about bureaucratic inertia and the inability of authorities to find solutions to particular pressing social problems. SIGs increasingly use information technology for engagement, construction, collaboration and information dissemination. SIGs are often short-term focused gatherings; in many cases, groups disorient and melt away slowly or take another formation (such as political entity) whenever the central goal loses its relevance (Khandekar & Reddy, 2013; Osborne, 2008; Stein, 2009; Tesh, 1984).

I am especially interested in understanding how new media is creating options for social activists to collaborate, engage and penetrate different streams of the society.

The questions about the success of single-issue groups and utilisation of media can be answered through the research. The success of these groups can be attributed to the collective benefit of effort to utilise media across for the entire activist sector (Carroll & Hackett, 2006). For instance, Youtube journalism is picking up the pace; and even established news networks, like BBC and CNN⁴, use part-time citizen journalists to create community reports, which become an integral and important part of the mainstream media. Some authors suggests that social movements and single-issue groups do not use the web to its full potential (Caiani & Parenti, 2016; Gibson, 2015; Norris, Walgrave, & Van Aelst, 2005; Stein, 2009). The counter argument is the limited availability and popularity of the social media till a few years back. The social media is gaining rapid pace, which is evident from the fact that Facebook grew from a few thousand users to 1.8 billion active users in the period of 2005 – 2016⁵. Some of the recent typical examples of the extensive use of social media in social activism are the Democratic waves in Arab world – Tunisia, Egypt, Libya; Occupy Wall Street, #PrayforParis, Scottish referendum, Brexit (Adler-Nissen, Galpin, & Rosamond, 2017; Anderson, 2011; Baxter & Marcella, 2017; Khalidi, 2011; Saletan, 2011).

The other motivation is to understand the changing social formation and roles of the new media and social activism in such formations. Evidently, single-issue movements are playing an important part in the emerging social formations. The global society is shifting from the intermittent cycles of protest to a permanently

⁴ The best example of citizen journalism and single issue movement is CNN iReport <http://ireport.cnn.com/> . At iReport section the reports produced by the citizens are uploaded as-it-is, they, not fact-checked or edited for content.

⁵ Facebook Stats: <http://www.facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics> and <https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-active-facebook-users-worldwide/>

mobilised society in which virtual movements spread and diffuse around the world at the speed of modern telecommunications (Buechler, 2002; Tarrow, 1998). The social shaping of technology perspective (Cowan, Wajcman, & MacKenzie, 1985; Williams & Edge, 1996) shows that these outcomes are not inevitable consequences of the technological advance but arise from the ways in which technologies are designed, appropriated and become embedded in society – i.e., from the ‘mutual shaping’ of technology and society. The issue here is the emergence of the sustained coupling between the communication capacities (or more precisely the affordances discovered by the user groups) and social practices (Williams et al. 2005). Gibson (1977) defined affordance as ‘attribute of a thing’; for example, in the context of this thesis, the potential functions performed by the mobile phone by the social activists. Technology is not self-evident and universal but its use is discovered by users in particular context. My focus is to look at technology affordance in the context of new technologies and tasks performed by users with the technologies at their disposal (Hutchby, 2001). Chapter 3 discusses the technology affordance and related concepts details.

Scholars from the early stage of the development of Internet have deliberated on the relationship between political communication and Internet. Etzioni (1994) argued, it seems the Internet creates the possibility of an advancement of the state of public affairs through ‘teledemocracy’. Hern and Chauk (1997) observed, *“The Internet, after the automobile and TV, is the third technological innovation this century powerful enough to challenge and mutate our disintegrating collective vision of community. Although useful for exchanging e-mail and performing fact-based research, the Internet inherently denies and denigrates the crux of direct democratic*

theory, the possibility of face-to-face relationships". Television & Radio has played the crucial role in the electoral campaigning in last two decades. Therefore, it is safe to assume that similar impact should be seen in the cases of usage of Internet and mobile media for political communication and social activism (Bimber, 1998).

Online tools have the potential to enable activists to communicate at much lower costs, thus allowing them to reach out to the distant audiences (Diani, 1992; Donath, 2007; Garrett, 2006). Historically, social activists used to spread the message in mass media life using TV and Radio. The arrival of ICT has opened the door for two way communication. In the thesis, I particularly focused on two cases that were in the vanguard of exploiting new ICTs especially social media. I chose two cases from pilot cases in India where Pink Chaddi Campaign was the first one to use Facebook for social activism in India while IAC was one of the largest social movements to adopt ICT.

Though online communication can reach large numbers of people, it may have less effect than face to face interaction in establishing trust and collective identification (Diani, 2010). There has been a debate about the relationship between online and offline activism regarding whether online activism replaces offline activism, work together as complimentary, supplementary or as a catalyst. The scholars who support participatory democratic process often out of their enthusiasm and excitement supported a verdict that the Internet will create the inclusive democratic political system (Kornbluh, 2000; Wills & Reeves, 2009). Agre (2002) argued, the Internet does not repair the system but reinforces it. Ganesh and Stohl (2010) found mixed results of activists in use of online and offline activism in New Zealand, Van Laer (2010) discussed that it is a special class of young educated

youth which is more engaged in online activism, Rao and Dutta (2017) though also revealed a variety of online and offline activism technique yet it may be sometimes complimentary to each other. Harlow and Harp (2012) strongly believed that digital tools have an ability to augment the offline activism rather than replace it.

Western countries, such as the United States and European countries, have seen a significant rise in Internet-led campaigns during the elections. In the early days of the Internet, scholars such as Rheingold (1993) portrayed the Internet as a power equaliser, which can balance the power between citizens and 'power barons'. Some scholars believed that the Internet to has transformative capabilities, as it facilitates one-to-one interaction among the citizens and between citizens and governments (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Bimber, 1998; Robles, 2011). Bimber (2003) further investigated the argument of Internet populism; as it revolves around the thesis that citizens would have reduced dependency on the government machinery to access information; therefore, the elites and political intermediaries will become less important. In this new democratic environment, individuals will be more civically engaged (Cassell, Huffaker, Tversky, & Ferriman, 2006), challenging the elites and authorities.

India has rich and long history of activism for social change. In post-independence period, there are numerous examples of activism related to land reforms, poverty alleviation and the ending of inequality and injustice (Ray & Katzenstein, 2005). In 1980s, 'Chipko Andolan'⁶, a revolt against mindless deforestation, people hugged the trees when woodmen came to axe them. 'Narmada

⁶ Chipko movement <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Chipko-movement>

Bachao Andolan'⁷ in eighties and nineties questioned the very rationale of large dam projects in India. Protest against Colas giants⁸, a study published by Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) in 2003, showed that popular soft drinks such as Coca Cola and Pepsi use 15 to 87 times more pesticides than permissible limit known to cause cancer and other diseases. The examples of social activism in India are countless; India has stood up as democratic society, thus allowing the freedom to express and share. Though, largely India is regarded as conservative society, but within the social fabric one can witness the uneasiness against the odd and trust amongst people to do the right thing. India Against Corruption (IAC) is a pioneering case for a series of demonstration and protest across India against corruption initiated by anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare and known for its technology appropriation using online and offline activism. Pink Chaddi Campaign or Pink Underwear Campaign launched by Nisha Susan, an employee of Tehelka Political Magazine, set an interesting unique case for non-violent protest movement by Consortium of Pub Going, loose and forward women against perceived violation of Indian Culture. The way the protest was thought, appropriate technology and blended with offline techniques of sending pink underwear to a political party leader to teach him a lesson was remarkable and marked its place in social movement history.

Many writers have produced simplistic utopian accounts of the desirable effects of the new media. However, evidence suggests that its outcomes are rather more complex. There have been concerns about the social exclusion and uneven access

⁷ Narmada Bachao Andolan - <https://www.iaspaper.net/narmada-bachao-andolan/>

⁸ The Real Thing - <https://www.economist.com/node/7827267>

to the Internet (Hindman, 2010; Keniston & Kumar, 2003; Warschauer, 2004). The Internet may not dramatically change the way people think, however, the Internet would influence the political processes to a greater extent (Agre, 2002; Gibson, 2015; Shirky, 2011; Wills & Reeves, 2009). Hence, there is a need to analyse the specific ways that the Internet is adopted and used for political communication.

There is an extensive literature spanning several decades that contrasts computer mediated and face-to-face communication and more recently "online" and "offline" about how to better understand people's experiences in online/offline interactions (Vieweg, Haimson, Massimi, O'Hara, & Churchill, 2015). An array of authors explicitly criticise this binary (Churchill, Girgensohn, Nelson, & Lee, 2004; Hampton & Wellman, 2003; Kraut et al., 1998). Some of the scholars suggest the online and offline worlds are "conceptually and behaviourally distinct" (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). In the later chapters, I have explored the notion of identities (real or virtual) (Agre, 2002; Farnham & Churchill, 2011; Petray, 2011), though many times, these identities are often blurred due to fast and seamless communication between online/offline world (Sternheimer, 2012). One of the purpose of this thesis is to explore the nature of online/offline identities purported by the social activists.

Another motivation is to understand the innovative methods and techniques adopted by the social activist in developing country such as India to achieve their goals. Writers from innovation systems perspective have drawn attention to alternative models for development of commercial products and services, especially Von Hippel (2001) draws attention to the role of the users in open and collaborative model of innovation. Open and collaborative innovation is the user-centric innovation, where users of products and services are increasingly able to innovate

themselves (Von Hippel, 2001). Jugaad innovation flags opportunities for learner approaches to innovation rather than large R&D centres that may be more appropriate to firms in the developing countries. Frugal innovation or as Radjou (2012) describes, 'Jugaad is the gusty art of improvising an ingenious solution'. Though Jugaad is originated from India but now well adopted as innovation principle world-over. A number of recent contributions have drawn attention to the scope for creating new forms of innovation geared towards the needs of developing countries and otherwise marginalised users eg. pro-poor / inclusive innovation. Some of them focused upon how new form of innovation may emerge in developing countries e.g below the radar innovation. In this thesis, I have covered examples of how using frugal innovation principles, social activists are able to creatively configure the solution for the SIGs in the resource constrained environment. I have argued that frugal innovation is much more than grass-root approach, given adequate support towards infrastructure – advanced solutions can be developed by using the principles.

My main research question is how technology is appropriated by single-issue groups? The appropriation is 'active and creative process that ends in various usage' (Wirth, Von Pape, & Karnowski, 2008). To explain the process of technology appropriation and adoption of innovative practices by the social activists, this thesis develops a framework called "creative configuration" that describes the process of technology innovation by attending to the context and contingent character of appropriation centred innovation, highlighting the creative role of local actors including the processes of bricolage. The "creative configuration" framework -

identifies and recognises the constant changes done in the system - vast and small, quantitative and qualitative.

The Internet is transforming the way we access information and probably frames our thoughts. In the Western countries, particularly the United States, one-third of the population is using the Internet for downloading the political news and accessing campaign information (Butler, 2011a; Caiani & Parenti, 2016; Jackson, Dorton, & Heindl, 2010; Shannon, 2007). The new world leaders such as Barack Obama, Donald Trump, David Cameroon and Narendra Modi used technology smartly for their political campaigns. In Scotland, the single-issue related to the Scottish referendum had been steady risen (Baxter & Marcella, 2017), with YouTube videos, chat groups, Facebook groups and online chat sites continuously debating every move made by the politicians or the news published in newspapers. More recently, the Brexit debate was widely popular in social media (Adler-Nissen et al., 2017).

In the current format, technology may be incapable of fine tuning the participatory democracy (Williams, 2009), as many other factors are contributing towards the political process. My research is an attempt to find the threads of arguments on how social activism builds up the momentum by using technology (The Internet, mobile, etc.) as the medium.

Every stable society has its social organisation, own issues and own way of solving them. The current ICT-centric society is adapting to the new technology-led social organisations, which would become more stable as the underlining technology matures. Therefore, there is a need for the development of the new scholarship for the hybrid model of social movements, which would support current age, technology-

led, potentially short-lived, single-issue 'virtual' movements. Also, there is a lack of studies about the developing countries and given the cases/stories available (detailed literature review done in chapter 2 and research methodology in chapter 4); it is the apt opportunity for an in-depth study that can make the significant contribution to STS scholarship. My main research questions are:

RQ 1. How are new ICT media and services being appropriated by various single-issue-groups?

RQ 2. How is the appropriation of new media/tools with their different affordances helping in constructing unique organisational forms in different Indian social movements?

RQ 3. How do these specific contexts shape the appropriation of media, the development of communications forms/practices and the development of the new form of political structures?

The above research questions are defined in more detailed including the sub-research question in the subsequent sections.

1.4 Choice of research instruments and data collection

While observing Indian and international social activism, the Internet may not have lived up to the expectation of creating a "wave of change" to revolutionise the individual's perception regarding an issue; however, the influence of ICTs cannot be discounted either. Hindman (2010) in his work 'The myth of digital democracy' says, *'if the success of Internet Politics is increasingly apparent, they have also tempted us*

to draw the wrong conclusions...' Hindman raises critical questions about the online media:

- Are online audiences more decentralised than the audiences in the traditional media?
- How many citizens end up getting heard in the cyberspace?
- Are those who do end up getting heard provide a more accurate reflection of the broader public?

The current scholarship may not have all the answers immediately; this may be due to lack of data or to the novelty of the emergent processes under examination or to the immaturity of technology adoption among the masses (Bar, Weber, & Pisani, 2016). However, these questions could not be ignored, and they were kept in mind while designing research framework for my current research. This thesis has demonstrated some interesting lessons that guided the development of my research.

Two empirical cases have been selected for this research – The Pink Chaddi Campaign and India Against Corruption. India Against Corruption (IAC) is a pioneering case for a series of demonstration and protest across India against corruption initiated by anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare and known for its technology appropriation using online and offline activism. Pink Chaddi Campaign or Pink Underwear Campaign launched by Nisha Susan, an employee of Tehelka Political Magazine, set an interesting unique case for non-violent protest movement by Consortium of Pub Going, loose and forward women against perceived violation of Indian Culture. The way the protest was thought, appropriate technology and blended with offline techniques of sending pink underwear to a political party leader

to teach him a lesson was remarkable and marked its place in social movement history.

Before the decision to choose the two cases, six mini-cases were studied as a part of the pilot study to map the landscape and look for the critical issues. These cases are considered to be pioneer examples that have used new media in social activism at the national level in India. The pioneering nature of the cases has given an opportunity for expanded and unbiased data collection. Single-issue activism and technology appropriation operate in dynamic unexplored situations. Also, the subject requires in-depth study and understanding of the key issues; therefore, a qualitative methodology was suited best for such an inquiry (Thomas, 2011; Wengraf, 2001).

Detailed semi-structured interviews (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Wengraf, 2001) were conducted with forty-three individuals (thirty for India Against Corruption (IAC) and thirteen for the Pink Chaddi Campaign) chosen through purposeful sampling and snowball sampling (Patton, 2002, 2005; Yin, 2008).

Creswell (2007) suggested that in the qualitative research data analysis should be done alongside data collection so that the interviews can be placed within a proper context. Data analysis was done, and the appropriate answers to the research questions were drawn. This provided an opportunity to fill the gaps in the literature about the appropriation of technology in the social activism context.

1.5 Contribution and Structure of the Thesis

The thesis provides a significant contribution to the STS scholarship in advancing our understanding of the technology appropriation. The empirical evidence confirms that online participation by social activist's compliments and reinforces their offline actions. Further, social media plays a more significant role in the social activism, such as recruitment and training of personnel. In the study, I have found similarities between a temporary organisation (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995) and single-issue groups. Cases of IAC and Pink Chaddi revealed that Single-Issue Groups (SIGs) are formed to achieve a single purpose and once the purpose is achieved, they are dissolved. The analysis of the cases revealed a pattern of SIGs similarity with characteristics of Temporary Organisation highlighted in Lundin research and explained characteristics of single-issue group type social movement organisations (SMOs). The thesis extends the debate on whether social movements have a formal or informal structure. Further, in the thesis, I have argued, the technology acts as the catalyst for better sustainability of the SIGs till the end of their life-cycle.

The thesis explains the characteristics of single issue group social movements and provides a framework of Creative Configuration for enhancing sustainability of social movements. The temporary nature of empirical cases of Pink Chaddi and Indian Against Corruption confirmed to Lundin's notion of temporary organisation. From theoretical side, the thesis argues how technology and society shape each other in the context of single issue group in a developing country.

The study introduces the concept of "creative configuration" – the smart alignment of the events, where the objectives of the organisation are met by the participating actors using the available resources in particular environments. The

research discusses how creative configuration between the technology, ideas and expertise available with the activist groups can determine future strategies of the organisation and shape the outcomes. This study has provided individual lessons from the trial and error social learning by the principal actors on the exploitation of the new media. The inquiry has enhanced our insights on how technology has been appropriated by the social activists in a developing country, such as India. I have argued in the resource constrained environment and informal settings such as single-issue groups, the conventional models of innovation do not work. SIGs in developing countries cannot practice systematic innovation (Krishnan, 2010), whereas they are more inclined towards 'Jugaad' frugal innovation (Radjou et al., 2012). Further, the research highlighted the role of external (local) experts (Stewart, 2007) and social media in providing support towards the growth of the social movements (Bennett, Segerberg, & Walker, 2014; Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015). I have introduced the action framework for sustainable local innovation, building on the social learning perspective, to ascertain a mechanism to exploit the scale up of the local innovative practices. The framework could induce some predictability to the technology appropriation by identifying the stakeholders and their innovation needs.

The introduction chapter describes my motivation to conduct the research. Chapter 2 provides the background literature in STS and related areas for the study. Chapter 3 provides an opportunity to discuss the theoretical framework. This is followed by Chapter 4 that covers the research methodology and research design. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are empirical chapters about the two cases taken up for this inquiry. In chapter 7, I have done the analysis and presentation of empirical results obtained from the study. In this chapter, the concept of "creative

configuration" is introduced that supports the claims made as part of the thesis along with the proposed action framework for sustainable local innovations.

As a part of the development of the thesis, I have presented my research results at two leading international conferences and several inter-departmental seminars at my university. I stood 'first' in the poster competition organised at ISSTI and also stood 'first' at the college level for 3-min PhD competition. Post the completion of my PhD; I am planning to publish research papers in reputed international journals and continue my research work in similar area.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The economic, political, social, environmental and cultural crises over time had provoked many issues from a range of social movements across the globe. The multiple forms of protests from the society embody a ray of hope for capturing the narratives and possibilities in Science and Technology Studies (STS). Social movement processes pass through various stages, from the introduction of social dialogue or issues by a single person to the formation of an organisation for the achievement of its objectives by numerous stakeholders (Blumer, 1969).

The chapter is structured in three parts: background, social movements and social activism in India. The first part of chapter defines what is technology and social media and how these terms are discussed in the literature. The second part of the chapter raises the debates on social movement structure, what a single-issue group consists of, how they sustained using online-offline activism and role of media. The third and the last part of the chapter provides insights about social activism in India, digital divide, telecom revolution and connection of ICT with politics.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) found the evidence of social movement organisation as a formal organisation while many other literature discussed SMO in the form of informal group (Turner & Killian, 1957, McAdam et al., 2003, Touraine, 1985, Melucci, 1989, Diani, 1992). This debate raised the question related to whether single issue group behave like a formal organisation or informal organisation. The

next question is related to even if they are formed how they are able to sustain it whether using online activism or offline activism or both.

This chapter provides a background of the social movement and the role of technology in social activism. The chapter further discusses the ICT and social activism in India.

2.2 What is Technology?

Mitcham (1978) calls technology simultaneously as “broad” and “narrow”, because the way it is used by two user groups of engineers and scientist; thus, analytically confusing. For instance, some STS scholars calls technology as “neutral” (Byrne, 2016; Cowan et al., 1985; M. S. Jørgensen, Jørgensen, & Clausen, 2009; Williams & Edge, 1996) whereas engineers calls technology as a “tool” (Jones, Buntting, & de Vries, 2013; Singer & Williams, 1954). Mitcham (1978) further points that "technology" is not a univocal term: it is "context-dependent" - both in speech and in the world.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the term ‘technology’ was first used in 1859. It was originated from Greek word *technologia* that means systematic treatment of art. Though the word ‘technology’ itself is relatively new, the implied meaning of technology can be traced as far back as the start of human civilisation. There is much evidence available that points towards how people have invented tools and techniques to make their life easier (de Vries, 2006; Hester, 2014; Jones et al., 2013; Layton, 1974; Mitcham, 1978; Schiffer, 2001; Trist, 1981). The modern culture consists of millions of technological innovations or adaptations that are widely

used in everyday life. Throughout 19th and 20th (and now in the 21st) centuries, the understanding and dealing of technology have significantly expanded in the scholarship. We can comprehend technology as:

- *Technology as Objects:* Technology as objects is the “standard view” in the studies of technology (Schiffer, 2001), it is constitutes of physical devices of technical performance (de Vries, 2006). Examples include artefacts like tools, machines, instruments, appliances, etc. Mobile phone and iPad is considered as technological objects.
- *Technology as Knowledge:* The knowledge (or know how) of creating technological innovation. The usage of term technology as knowledge gained prominence when scientific knowledge started symbolising technological innovation (Layton, 1974).
- *Technology as Activities:* The skills, methods, procedures, routines of the people. Technology as activities is that involves that involve the creation, appropriation, and use of artefacts (Schiffer, 2001). Sending the text message using the mobile phone and downloading stuff using technological objects is technology as activities (Jones et al., 2013).
- *Technology as a Process:* The process begins with a need and ends with a solution (Mitcham, 1978). The medical drug discovery is a technological process that starts with prevailing illness (need) and concludes with a drug to treat the disease (solutions).
- *Technology as a Sociotechnical System:* In the sociotechnical system, the technological objects & people work in combination (Hester, 2014; Trist, 1981). The social network is the best example of the sociotechnical system; it

uses objects like computer systems or mobile phones, processes like software, applications and people to operate upon the objects and processes.

The scholarship on understanding technology has advanced significantly during the last few decades. In the STS literature, key theories such as Actor-Network-Theory; Technology Determinism; Social Shaping of Technology and Social Construction of Technology, has used technology as the centre of the argument. For the purpose of my thesis, the classes as mentioned above of technology; primarily focused on the new media, could assist us in the understanding of the views, structures, triggers, objects and usages of technology by the members of social activist organisations.

2.2.1 What is Social Media?

This section discusses the working definition of social media and the literature available on the subject.

The definition of the social media is evolving over the last few years. Social media is the use of web-based and telecommunication services for creating interactive dialogue among the individuals, organisations and communities. Social media refers to any technology that lets people to publish online and to comment on other posts/material⁹. Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein (2010) defined social media as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content." The newer avatar of the web is called "Web 2.0", the term coined by DiNucci (1999) - which indicates the transitional shift from the static web pages to the more interactive, user-driven web. The web 2.0 refers to the new

⁹ The social media glossary http://thesocialmediaguide.com/social_media/social-media-glossary

implementation of the Internet, which is multidirectional, collaborative, interactive, participatory, live and instantaneous (Petray, 2011). In contrast to the earlier version of Internet (passive), web 2.0 provides more interactivity and allows users to create the web content collectively.

The popular social media websites are Facebook (social networking), Twitter (social messaging), Wikipedia (social content aggregation), LinkedIn (professional social networking), blogs (content sharing), to name just a few. The categories explained above are based on my own experience of using social media in last 10 years or more, there is no academic literature to my knowledge that lists the categories, however, popular press does speak about it. Every year new experiments are catching the users' attention. The changes and adoptions are so fast that some of the established players in the social media business have already lost their positions and gone out-of-business. The best example is of MySpace, one of the original propagators of social media; from its #1 position, is on the verge of closing down its business in a short span of 9 years.

To understand the appropriation of technology, we have first to understand the classification of social media. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) give a sound account of the classification of social media by fundamental theories in the field of media research (social presence) and social processes (self-presentation, self-disclosure). The social presence theory argues (Short, Williams, & Christie, 1976) that the media changes its structure and behaviour by the social presence of two communication partners. Social presence is influenced by intimacy (interpersonal vs. mediated) and immediacy (asynchronous vs. synchronous) of the medium. The social presence can be lower for a mediated conversation (e.g., telephone) than non-mediated

conversation (e.g., face to face). Similarly, the social presence can be less for asynchronous (e.g., email) than synchronous (e.g., live chat) communications (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). The higher social presence has the greater influence on the other party. In the social media context, the continuous interaction between the two or more parties gives stronger social presence, thus changing the conversation.

Here I am drawing upon Goffman (1959) to explain the meaning of the identity and what it means in the online context. Goffman (1959) premise is that we present a different demeanour in front of the others. I will heavily rely on Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) here, they argues, the societal dimension of the social media is that the individuals desire to control the impression during the social interactions. The presence in the online space is "front stage", where individuals attempt to influence others through a blog, chat message, pictures or post. However, their behaviour and personality changes when they let their guards down at the "backstage".

Some authors don't completely agree with the Goffman's account of the front and back stage explanation in the current online context. They argue that seamless communication (Twitter feeds, Facebook post and online chat) may not allow users to change the guard so quickly. Sternheimer (2012) stresses, "These backstage communications can easily become the front stage with an errant keystroke (such as hitting 'reply all') or worse yet, a subpoena". She gives an interesting case example of former Rutgers University student Dharun Ravi, who was found guilty of videoing his roommate without his knowledge. His roommate, Tyler Clementi, had committed suicide after finding out that his backstage behaviour was made the front stage (made public) on the internet (Sternheimer, 2012). Goffman (1959) defines this phenomenon as "inopportune intrusions". Farnham and Churchill (2011) introduces

the notion of "faceted identity" while studying on managing personal boundaries across various social media platforms. They suggested, "people show different facets or sides of their character according to the demands of the current social situation". For eg: Nisha Susan was the journalist working for a leading publication, however, she became social activist as and when situation changed (i.e. The Pink Chaddi Campaign). Similarly, in the online/offline world an individual can have multiple identities – a friend for people on the Facebook, blogger (writer) for his follower and an entrepreneur for his dotcom firm. According to Vieweg et al. (2015), the different facets do not create the split between online and offline personas. The individual behaviour is very fluid and contextual as people move between different settings. The cases discussed in this thesis have taken examples of the social activists who have moved in different settings performing various social roles to understand whether online/offline binary is separated or integrated. In my study, I argue that the identities are contextual, they are integrated as the behaviour do not change while individuals change their identity, whereas, they assume additional responsibility of being an activist.

Another important aspect of the social media is self-disclosure (creation of profile page/ web page) (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). In the online space, self-disclosure can be public (website, blogs, comments on another post) or private (closed groups on Facebook, members only pages). In the case of public self-disclosure, the individuals have less control on what impression others will carry, whereas, in the private self-disclosure, they have more control over the perception and opinion of others. In the table below the classification of the social media is explained with examples (Table 2.2.1).

Table 2.2.1: Classification of social media

		Social media presence		
		Low	Medium	High
Self-Presentation and Self-Disclosure	High	Blogs	Social networking sites (e.g., Facebook)	Virtual social worlds (e.g., Second Life)
	Low	Collaborative Projects (e.g., Wikipedia)	Content communities (e.g., YouTube)	Virtual game world (e.g., world of warcraft)

- adopted from (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010), pg 5

Social media is deeply related to other telecommunication technologies, such as text messaging (SMS) and phone calls. Mobile text messaging such as Whatsapp has emerged as one of the biggest drivers of social media expansion and also of the social activism. Whatsapp was launched in 2010, during the year of the cases I am covering as part of my research, Whatsapp presence in India was negligible. Similar to messaging and phone calls, social media can be both used for private conversation and for group conversations. Current telecommunication technology allows users were sending text messages to an individual, a group of people, broadcast to a larger group, or post the message on Internet by linking a mobile phone to a social media website. There are numerous examples available in the literature on how users have 'domesticated' mobile technologies, and used them for various purposes, including political communications and social activism (Byrne, 2016). Pat Byrne, a fellow PhD scholar at STIS at University of Edinburgh did her work titled 'Hurling together with technology: Appropriation of the mobile phone in everyday life of an Irish community group' on similar subject,

2.3 Social Movements

Many scholars provide useful insights on the definitions of social movements, in particular as it is associated with the social and political changes governed by various ideologies (Garrett, 2006; Habermas, 1981; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Wilkinson, 1976). These ideologies can be religious, social, cultural or political; therefore, it is a difficult task to furnish a generic definition to such a vast and complicated subject. There is a scholarly debate over what a social movement constitutes, and whether every social movement is associated with a structured organisation or an unstructured organisation or both. Paul Wilkinson (1971) interprets social movement as:

"a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community. Social movements are in this sense, apparently distinct from historical movements, upheavals or waves. It is obligatory to remember, in this connexion, however, that such proper sites and inclinations and the effect of the material or insensible factors in human behaviour, may be of vital significance in enlightening the problems of exploring and explaining the social movement." (p 26)

Diani (1992) described Social Movement as a process:

"whereby several different actors, be they individuals, informal groups and organisations, come to elaborate, through either joint action and communication, a shared definition of themselves as being part of the same side of social conflict" (p2).

Diani (1992) further defined social movements as networks of informal interactions, the collection of shared belief and solidarity, resulting in a collective action on the confidential issues, which displays largely outside the institutional sphere and the routine procedures of the social life. It can be interpreted from Diani's definition that social movements are "collective actions" rather than structured in a more formal organisational form. Moreover, Turner and Killian (1957) emphasised the collective behaviour of the aggregates. The interaction among the group has been considered importation, even without having a formal structure or a procedure for selecting or identifying its leaders and members.

To the contrary, McCarthy and Zald (1977) argued for a more formal representation of the social movement as an organisation, and have introduced terminologies such as "social movement sector", "social movement industry" and "social movement organisation". Touraine (1985) explained how interactions take the form of the social movements. He defined first how social actors identify themselves, their opponents, social opponents and stakes in a conflict and, later on, high differentiation of beliefs and orientations leading to the social movements.

Here is it important to understand the difference between 'agitation' and 'social movement'. An agitation could cover an offensive behaviour against an administrative or forceful action, whereas a social movement (or social activism) is a more organised longer-term activity with the clear societal objectives. Social movements usually possess five key ingredients – objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organisation (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). There may be some kinds of agitations that come closer to the social movements but, as we explore them somewhat deeper, we can see clear differences. For the purpose of

this thesis, social movements are considered to be different from agitations and are referred in synonymous with single-issue groups.

Goffman (1974) has suggested the concept "Framing of Social movement"- a frame refers to "an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment", (Snow & Benford, 1992) (p 137). Frames enable an individual or a group to locate, perceive, identify and label events within their life span in the world (Goffman, 1974). Simply put, in social sciences framing comprises of the theoretical concepts and perspectives on how individuals and groups perceive reality. Social movements present a signifying work while employing 'collective action frames'. These collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organisation (Goffman, 1974).

Benford and Snow (2000) defined "Collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they describe as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change" (p615). The processes elaborating development of frames are: discursive (talks/conversation), strategic process (deliberative, utilitarian and goal-directed) and contested process (counter-framing by movement opponents). Social Framing is the key to the interaction between the humans and communication plays a vital role in the framing of social movements. Benford and Snow (2000) highlighted the importance of collective action frames and

of the framing processes in understanding the character and course of social movements. Also, the meaning of social interactions is a subject of differential interpretations. Collective action frames are associated with the seriousness and injustice of a particular social condition, usually immoral, which is previously considered as unfortunate and tolerable (Snow & Benford, 1992).

Social movements may be initiated with an interaction or a series of interactions, but it is important to understand how these movements are sustained and what kind of particular issues a social movement addresses. To explain such questions, McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly (2003) defined social movements as a sustained series of interactions between the power holders and the persons who are lacking formal representation but that make publicly visible demands. However, Melucci (1989) noted the importance of timing of the social movements on a political conflict. He argued that Social movements may not necessarily coincide with the visible political disputes. Public action is only one part of a social movement.

Table 2.3: Literature on Social Movements

SNo.	Authors	Trends in Social Movements	Formal/informal group representation
1	Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian	Collective Behaviour perspective	Informal group
2	John McCarthy and Mayer Zald	Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT)	Organisational form
3	Charles Tilly	Political process perspective	Informal group
4	Alain Touraine	New Social Movements	Informal group
5	Alberto Melucci	Cultural Laboratories	Informal (not time specific)
6	Mario Diani	Social Movement Dynamics	Informal

Sources: Source 1: (Turner & Killian, 1957) Source 2: (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), Source 3: (McAdam et al., 2003), Source 4: (Touraine, 1985), Source 5: (Melucci, 1989), Source 6: (Diani, 1992)

Social Movements are further categorised into two parts – Traditional Social Movements and New Social Movements. Habermas (1981) highlighted a shift of type of conflicts leading to the social movement in the last ten to twenty years. Change can be seen from the welfare state's pattern of institutionalised conflict over distribution to the new conflicts that arise in the areas of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialisation. Primary differences in the goals of new social movements are more related to human rights than to the materialistic qualities (Gusfield, 2009). For the purpose of this thesis, foundational issues of conflicts related to New social movements have also been considered.

2.3.1 Single Issue Group Social Movements

Interest groups have been considered to be among the main actors in the political theatre for quite some time now (Coughlin, Mueller, & Murrell, 1990; Mazey & Richardson, 2006; Tesh, 1984; Walker, 1991; Warhurst, 1986). Interest groups represent “common good” or issues that are left attended by main-stream political entities due to various reasons (Coughlin et al., 1990; Scott, 2011; Warhurst, 1986).

Single-issue groups, as the name suggests, have a single specific aim - for instance to prevent building of nuclear station or reducing industrial waste or blocking the passing of a government policy. According to Warhurst (1986), single issue groups take different stands than main-stream political parties and even 'distrust' them, despite the existence of considerable individual cross-membership. Single-issue groups are a part of the social structure of the society. Warhurst (1986) further argues, major political parties do feel threatened by the groups may be due to their rigidity towards the issue they are vocal about. Warhurst (1986) comments

about the membership of the single-issue groups, he quotes the example of Australia where despite steady rise in the population, political parties membership is either static or declining; whereas, the single-issue groups are thriving.

There is criticism about the single-issue groups. The rise of single issue politics is sometimes threatening the conventional political system (Tesh, 1984). According to Tesh (1984), single-issue-political parties can perhaps destroy the political system since they don't cover a wider range of the social and national issues. Another criticism is that single-issue groups promotes selfish, minority interests (Warhurst, 1986). On the other hand, it is argued that the single-issue political groups can behave as social constructivists, where the group members are collaboratively creating a pool of knowledge and a small culture of the shared artefacts with the shared meanings (Vygotskiĭ, 1978). Single-issue groups indeed keep a check on the government and majority political parties. They certainly make a positive contribution at the national and state policy through their vocal and clear stance on the issues (Warhurst, 1986).

Technology has provided tools that allow people to support various causes whenever they wish and in the comfort of their home or offices. Social media tools such as Facebook have provided new opportunities for people to 'like' a campaign rather than becoming a formal member of an organisation (Baines, 2010; Scott, 2011). The barriers for creating a campaign and reaching out to the people have been significantly reduced. By enabling political pluralism through technology usage, social constructivists help to establish single issue politics.

There has been a strong current of thought that adopts a technology deterministic account of the contribution of new social media to single issue groups (though here, leading scholars propose a soft deterministic approach (Wyatt, 2008)). Competing accounts, that we might describe as social determinist, emphasise the continued importance of existing power structures. Related to this is work that emphasises the flexibility in use and implications of technology. Law & Bijker (1992) suggest that users continually re-evaluate technologies and challenge the developers for new functionalities. It is the user who determines what should be the logical outcome of technology. For example, a mobile phone is meant for talking with each other; at the same time, usage of a mobile phone as a hammer could not be entirely ruled out (Love, 2005). Single-issue groups use technology primarily for communication purpose, for coordination among other stakeholders and for sharing their views with the outside world.

Protestors around the world explore how to use technology intelligently to circumvent totalitarianism¹⁰. In Egypt, when the government shut-down cell phone towers and confiscated mobile phones, a small handheld device that can be carried in a bag was used to reconnect the cell phones to each other and transfer videos/photos. These pictures were subsequently shared with the international media and posted on Youtube later on, once the protestors have full access to the Internet. William Saletan, the author of 'Is internet driving Arab spring?' says that in North Korea and Iran, radio has become a most efficient medium to reach out people (Saletan, 2011). In the case of Tunisia, US government helped protestors to circumvent surveillance technologies. It is increasingly becoming a rat-race game

¹⁰ Is Internet driving the revolutions of the Arab spring?
<http://facultyfiles.deanza.edu/gems/kaufmancynthia/Saletan.pdf>

between the governments and demonstrators; governments are trying to repress, and dissidents are coming up with new and smarter solutions.

2.3.2 Sustaining Social Movements

The issues of the social movement have reached far beyond democratisation; rather the new issues are pertinent in the area of the human rights, where the mass population is involved. Communication, engaging, informing and sustaining the mass population is a daunting task. The Internet and the social media have created new ways of communication and linked them with the new ICT pipeline. Garrett (2006) stressed:

"The Internet will continue to play a significant role in the success or failure of globalisation protests and demonstrations. Groups will use the Internet to identify and publicise targets, solicit and encourage support, organise and communicate information and instructions, recruit, raise funds, and as a means of promoting their various individual and collective aims" (p488).

On the one side, social media and the Internet have provided a platform to communicate with the general population in an efficient, speedier and cost effective manner (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015; Petray, 2010; Sen et al., 2010); however, there are also many criticisms.

According to Aelst and Walgrave (2002), social-movement watchers have agreed that the new media offer new opportunities for international collective action. However, they are more sceptical on the development of stable, long-lasting movements in the future. McAdam et al. (1996b) emphasised that the expanded capacity for transnational communication would not automatically lead to the

international social movements. Most of the scholars believe that indispensable interpersonal networks cannot just be replaced by new virtual contacts created by the Internet.

Van de Donk and Foederer (2001) doubt that virtual demonstrators can act without the emotions and thrills of participating in the real direct action. Etzioni and Etzioni (1999) address the same problem: Can virtual contacts be as real as face-to-face contacts for building a community? By their exploratory research, they concluded that it is a combination of both that is the best in creating and maintaining some common purpose community. According to Etzioni (1994), in the formation of a transnational social movement, "computer-mediated communication" happens when a group of people meet in person, they have some "shared values", and they maintain or further improve the bonding. Interactions solely based on the Internet communications usually lack the necessary basis of trust for building permanent relations (Diani 2001). Thus, it emphasises that just the use of online strategy alone could not work; but that rather a combination of both online and offline strategies is required to be effective. However, there is insufficient research for the scenarios where both approaches have been used in the social activism.

Bimber (1998) argued that single-issue groups could get most benefits from the ICT. He highlighted that the composition of people from the traditional business, labour, and professions-based groups had been appended by the wealth of new, citizen-based groups, which are not rooted in the traditional occupation or professional membership structures but are rather coalesced around ideology, social movements, or single issues. "What is significant about this effort is that the participants were widely dispersed around the country, belonged to no common

membership organisation or group, and had no previous experience in organised lobbying on this issue" (Bimber, 1998) (p157)

Interaction solely based on Internet communications usually lacks the necessary basis of trust for building permanent relations (Diani, 2000, 2010; Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015). Furthermore, it requires right technology for the right people. For example, politicians need to understand the skill, costs and convenience of using technology by their audience before spreading their message through the use of such technology. Mobbs (2000) raised concerns over the challenges faced by large pressure groups or new social movements with no identifiable leadership or clear structures; although they have devoted particular attention to the role of the social media and Internet. Moreover, Aelst and Walgrave (2002) argued that the "participation in politics will have been facilitated through the use of ICTs. Political action is made easier, faster and more universal by the developing technologies. ICTs lower the costs and obstacles of organising collective action significantly" (p 466).

2.3.3 Online and Offline Activism

It has been discussed in the prior literature how online and offline activists are linked with each other. Some of the recent studies claims that there exists a significant relationship between media, online and offline forms of participation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Grofman & Franklin, 2014). It is argued, "savvy organizations can use ICT in ways that can ultimately help activists transform a party" (Grofman & Franklin, 2014)(p.vii). Further quoting the example from Arab spring, they emphasise, "“in both Tunisia and Egypt, ICTs played an important role in the very early stages of the revolutions[..]....bloggers continued to report on

the progression of the protests and announced meeting points and times for planned demonstrations, ... mobilization in the latter part of the revolution would likely have occurred even without the participation of online activists.” (Grofman & Franklin, 2014) (p.viii).

Della Porta and Mosca (2005) argued that the Internet has a meaningful effect on the collective action with the following role of the Internet in the social activism:

- 1) The Internet empowers a series of fundamental functions of the social movement organisations;
- 2) It modifies their movements’ organisational structure (more and more networked, flexible and polycentric) and provides a platform for structured demonstrations;
- 3) It increases the possibilities for direct intervention in the politics through different forms of cyber protest;
- 4) It influences identity processes and helps to spread alternative information.

More particularly, they have found that digital access is still based on the socio-demographic variables, like gender, age, education affecting access, regularity and frequency of the Internet use and that social movement organisations tend to ‘socialize’ their activists to the Internet. Van Laer (2010) findings in Belgium revealed that the activists are not using the Internet as an information channel for the upcoming demonstrations; rather that the Internet is principally utilised by the highly educated "super-activists", with much experience and who can combine multiple engagements at the same time. His finding also focused on the characteristics of offline and online activists; he found that they significantly differ regarding socio-

demographic and political backgrounds, formal network, organisational embeddedness and, to some extent, in the motivational aspects.

The strong and growing relationship between online and offline activism is certainly established. However, I have found no studies claiming that offline activism can be 'substituted' by the online activism. Findings of both Porta and Mosca (2005) and Laer (2010) revealed that the activists perform their actions both offline and online in the integrated and overlapping manner, using cyberspace as a new resource to increase their chances of success.

Although there have been discussions regarding social movements' structure, there is a lack of research on whether a social movement belongs to a temporary organisation, a permanent organisation, or both (discussed in next chapter). Likewise, same questions may arise in the case of single-issue-group social movements or multiple-issue-group social movements. When there are a mass involvement and interaction of the individuals, groups and organisation, is it possible to sustain a social movement without any structure? The subsequent chapter will discuss each of the above topics in more details.

2.3.4 Online Social Activism

This section discusses the dependence of social activism on the online social media. It explores how old age social activism transforms itself into the *online social activism*.

Vegh (2003) defines online activism as, "Politically motivated movement relying on the Internet" (p71). Since the 1990s, apart from its embracing of e-commerce, the Internet has been actively appropriated by the political activism to promote causes

(Knudsen & Stage, 2012). Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001) observed that online tools had aided the protest politics in going mainstream. Protest organisers find these online tools that cost much less than traditional mass media campaigns quite handy to mobilise people (Kwon et al., 2011). Scholars have widely commented on the advantages of ICT as the utility for social activists. The Internet reduces the cost of recruitment, creates better reach among the participants and provides opportunities for stronger inter-organizational networks (Diani, 2000; Norris et al., 2005; Shumate & Dewitt, 2008). Knudsen & Stage, (2012) have identified five reasons of why the Internet is enthusiastically embraced by the social activists around the world:

- 1) The production and dissemination of media information to a wider audience become very cheap, fast and potentially global.
- 2) External supporters are easier to reach/mobilise.
- 3) Solidarity amongst internal members of the activist community can be boosted more easily.
- 4) Actual activities can be coordinated rather effortlessly.
- 5) Direct individual participation and interaction among (geographically dispersed) activists are ensured.

For the purpose of this research, the following classification as proposed by (Vegh, 2003) for the online activism – a) Awareness/Advocacy, b) Organisation/Mobilisation, c) Action/reaction (Vegh, 2003) (p72). According to Vegh (2003), the classification underlines the direction of initiative – whether one sends out information or receives it, calls for action or is called upon, or initiates as action or reacts to one. Vegh (2003) calls them “progressive” steps of online activism leading from basic information seeking and distribution to online direct action.

a) Awareness/Advocacy – The advocacy and awareness groups use various forms to gather the public opinion. The underlying aim is to influence public policy and the social system. The groups vary considerably in size, influence and motive; their motives for action are based on the political, faith, moral or commercial positions. Groups have a different support network - business or political systems support some of them, and others evolve into significant social movements. Some of the prominent examples of such groups are Greenpeace, Oxfam, and National Rifle Association. These organisations came to existence usually to put something on the political agenda that is missed out by political parties or ensure to keep something on the agenda. In India, awareness groups like Jago Re are backed by the powerful business houses that are using media campaigns to influence public opinion about the democratic process. Advocacy groups are also known by other names such as pressure groups, lobby groups, campaign groups etc.

b) Organisation/Mobilisation – The organisation and mobilisation groups have similar motives, like awareness/advocacy, to influence public opinion and public policy; however, their structure is different from the former. These groups are usually not backed by dominant political parties or businesses. They are typically offshoots of social movements; sometimes they merge to form a larger mobilisation exercise. Organisation/mobilising groups operate using grass-root techniques to organise people – they write letters, emails, make calls or send text, to gather opinion. In a modern context, social media plays a vital role in spreading the ideologically motivated information about these groups. These groups organise demonstrations and protests to showcase their strengths and attract the attention of policy makers. Occupy

Wall Street is one of the best examples of organisation/mobilisation groups (DeLuca, Lawson, & Sun, 2012; Schneider, 2011). The movement started as a small-time protest against the corporate greed and spread like wildfire across the world, then as rapidly fizzled out.

c) Action / Reaction – The action/reaction groups, as the name suggests, are for or against any measures taken by a business, political party, community or entity. These groups have the shorter life than other types of groups. Many times, these groups are formed out of the emotional outburst of the people (reaction) against the action or policy of an entity (mainly government or police); people come together and mobilise themselves against the action. The un-unionized strikes by the industrial workers can fall into this category. Post-millennium, the social media has given weight to action/reaction protests. These types of protests are prevalent in the Blogosphere, on Twitter and Facebook. In the UK, a popular protest against the VAT on Cornish pastry gained a momentum on the social media; subsequently, the government had to reverse their orders within a few days¹¹.

It is noteworthy that not everybody in the protester's group called a 'mob' (crowd with no expert leader) is usually "tech savvy". Typically, a few individuals act as "smart mob" (Rheingold, 2002) or "experts". These experts are empowered to use various forms of ICT (such as social media and SMS) for communication and collaboration (Kwon et al., 2011) among various stakeholders. Kwon (2011) further discussed the two principal purposes of ICT in the movement process - the informational use and the coordinative use. The majority of the mass media, like TV,

¹¹ Pasty Tax: The great VAT dilemma - <http://www.nikagarwal.com/2012/05/29/pasty-tax-the-great-vat-dilemma/>

radio, newspapers, are for the information, conformational or entertainment use (Pavia, 2011). The social media has emerged as a tool that serves multiple purposes for gathering information, diffusion of information, acting on the information and coordinating the action. Traditional media reporting is used for broad range information dissemination, but social media can also be used for focused information distribution. However, some scholars argued that excessive online political discussion can lead to "Cyberbalkanization", as the danger of using the Internet by the sub-groups is to focus on the material and content related to the subgroups to the exclusion of wider information sources (Ingenito, 2010; Sunstein, 2007; Wright, 2011). Jihadi groups fall into this category – they usually focus on one narrow argument and access sites exclusively related to their thesis, however improbable it might be (Wyatt, 2008).

These social-cultural patterns are well captured by (Gerodimos, 2004), who explains the realistic paradigms of the Internet as a reflector of a human agency. He said that political motivations of individuals couldn't be transformed but just reinforced online. Hill and Hughes (1997) argue that "the simultaneous explosion of electronic communication is not a paradigm shift. Rather, people are merely moving their age-old patterns of interaction into a new realm" (p25).

Chadwick (2008) raised a question about the validity of the claims of the impact of Internet on the democracy. He argues that during the early 1990s, several scholars have envisioned that e-democracy framework is about the qualitative or quantitative impact on the political behaviour and policy outcomes. However, the scholarship was unable to substantiate these claims in the more recent publications. Another argument was given by (Froomkin, 2004) – Internet tools should mainly be

used to enhance political debate, enrich mass participation in the representative democracy and connect the communities.

There are three schools of thoughts emerging from the literature (Aronson, 2012): "optimism or mobilisation theorists", "pessimism or reinforcement theorists" and "scepticism theorists". Optimism or mobilisation theorists believe in the positive contribution of the Internet (Park & Perry, 2008) - they hold a somewhat utopian view of the power of Internet for bringing cost reduction in communication and information exchanges or increasing voter turnout through political coordination. Bimber (2003) supports the mobilising role of Internet, as he reasons that with expanded penetration of Internet, people have an option of also expanding their choices. Hindman (2009) discusses the pessimism or reinforcement nature of the Internet. He argues that the Internet is not a comprehensive tool, but it could rather lead to the exclusion. It reinforces present democratic values at the expense of some others. The third school of thought, scepticism - according to Park & Perry (2008), the Internet is social constructivist and reflective. The Internet does not result in the increment or decrement of the political process but it facilitates "politics as usual". The Internet expands political horizons by broadening political participation and membership (Agre, 2002).

There are set of scholars who warn us of the dangers that may be caused due to the sudden emergence of the new media and digitisation of the content. The political brass is getting "too comfortable" with the new media, which may result in social isolation and loss of face-to-face contact (Gerodimos, 2004). Media is accused of distorting the facts/figures to make story juicy. Those stories stay in electronic form on the internet, destroying the social fabric (Putnam, 2001), placing political power in

corporate hands and manipulating the people's thought process (Gerodimos, 2004). Similar sentiments were observed during the Brexit campaign in the United Kingdom and Donald Trump Presidential campaign in the United States. During the Brexit, majority of the businesses in the UK did not support the very idea of Brexit; bombarding social media with stories about dangers of economic calamity if Britain exits the European Union. Eventually, the establishment-backed Brexit campaign falters and lost. Now, UK is on its way to exiting from the European Union. During the beginning of the last US presidential elections, media houses, newspapers and even businesses did not take Donald Trump campaign seriously. On the contrary, he went on to win the Republican nomination and eventually presidency.

2.3.5 Role of New Media in the Social Movements

The new media is playing a central role in our lives and political processes (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013); therefore, it is quite natural that scholars have started calculating the "net effect of social media on democracy" (Gerodimos, 2004). In some previous literature, scholars, like Capella and Jamieson (1997) and Fallows (1997), have argued about the negative relationship of the new media with the democracy. The "negativity" flavour has changed over time, as the new media has started expanding its network and showing real influence concerning penetration, communication and policymaking. More recent articles from the scholars (Froomkin, 2004; Shannon, 2007; Trippi, 2008; Wattal et al., 2010) sense the "positive" sentiments emerging from the relationship between the new media and the democracy. The new media is a source of information, which is transforming the political process to become more democratic and pluralistic. Still, the spread of the new media or the social media is a fairly new phenomenon; it is somewhat too early

to be judgmental about the effect of the new media on the society until considerable empirical evidence has been established.

A new field of social study of science and technology started to develop during the cold war (Harding, 2011). The Internet is a very new phenomenon compared to other communication media in the world such as newspapers and letters. Since the advent of the Internet technologies in the early 90's, political communication has also rapidly changed. For example, in the UK, the political parties are now actively engaged in using the Internet to communicate with the voters. James Stanyer (2005) claims that post-1990, political parties have exploited new technology to mobilise and persuade actual/potential voters. He highlights the emerging patterns of use of this technology during the campaigns in 1997, 2001 and 2005 in the UK. In the United States, the new media has influenced local and congressional elections and presidential primaries. However, more recent evidence suggests that the new media had affected in the national presidential elections since 2008 when the new media was fully integrated with campaign strategies (Aronson, 2012). We should not forget that the Internet and the new media, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and Google+ are just another set of tools, like the newspaper or any other old age media (Bolter, Grusin, & Grusin, 2000; Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010). Gerhards and Schäfer (2010) claims, internet communication does not differ significantly from the offline debate in the print media. The boundaries between new media and traditional media are fast blurring creating newer opportunities for all the stakeholders (Agre, 2002). The new media has provided the "accessibility" and "participation" that was the shortcoming of the old media (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010). For instance, majority of

the traditional newspapers have their online editions where users can post comments on the articles and share the content.

In the United States, the use of the new media and Internet for political campaigning can be traced back to 1996, but its application then was insufficient. The real wave of Internet campaign was felt in 2004, where several thousand groups have organised themselves along a political theme (Williams & Gulati, 2007). By 2008, the features of new media were more accessible than in the previous years; it got integrated with the strategies of the campaign (Aronson, 2012). Some journalist called Barack Obama 'the first Internet President' for his extensive use of the new media for fundraising, creating awareness and building networks.

Journalist Kathy Jackson shares the experience of witnessing the 2008 campaign:

"The Obama campaign believed it could revitalise the Democratic Party or even democracy itself by building on the lessons learned in the 2004 presidential campaign, particularly Howard Dean's ground-breaking fundraising techniques, and from MoveOn.org and MeetU.com, which used social networking sites to translate Internet friendships into real-life action. Despite these successful innovations, the potential of new media as a political tool remained largely untapped until Obama made it a central priority" (Jackson et al., 2010).

Lately, the majority of social movements have been connected to the ICT, such as cell phones, emails, social media and the worldwide web. The activists participate in social movements, and communicate, collaborate and demonstrate by using ICT

tools. Chiumbu (2012) and Monterde & Postill (2014) found that mobile phone usage has supported the social movements by appropriation of technology like smart phones or fulfilling online gaps via twitter and online streaming. Harlow (2012) highlighted the case where Guatemalan president has been shown on Facebook video threatening a lawyer for murdering and asked people for justice.

Internet-based campaigning is just a decade old (Chadwick, 2006; Williams & Gulati, 2007). Initially, Internet campaign managers have imagined that a large number of potential voters would visit campaign websites, actively engaging in meaningful discussions, watching the videos, etc., to use this unmediated information as a basis for political decision making (Hindman, 2010). In fact, the research shows that the reality has been different, as in most cases those who are visiting websites are the partisans (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Foot & Schneider, 2006; Hindman, 2010; Howard, 2005). Successful campaign managers have understood well voter's behaviour; and now they use online presence mainly to seek funds, not to sway undecided voters.

2.4 Social activism in India

India has seen dramatic¹² Political and economic liberalisation in the 1990s. The neo-liberal economic reforms have included tax reforms, deregulations, reducing government subsidies on agricultural, manufacturing, and creating liberal policies for foreign investments. Post-1991, the Indian government, has carefully made a shift from the non-working old socialist policies towards the new pro-capitalist policies

¹² In the early 90s, India has gone through a major balance-of-payment (BOP) crisis (Ghosh, 2004). The government had to raise US\$1.8 billion from the IMF, instead of 67 tonnes of gold deposit, to save itself from a default of loan payments. In return, IMF forced the Indian government to conduct the widespread economic reforms. Under the prime ministership of Mr PV Narsinma Rao, then Finance Minister Mr Manmohan Singh initiated the required financial reforms.

(Chakrabarti & Cullenberg, 2004; Economist, 2010). The liberalised economic policies, including ICT, created a favourable environment for the growth of telecommunication, electronic media, information technology and the Internet.

There are over 3 billion people worldwide who have access to the Internet, which is the good news; however, the what is more troubling is that rest of the 4.5 billion people don't have access to the Internet. Out of these 4.5 billion people not having internet access, 90% are living in the developing countries. The access to Internet depends on various prerequisites, like having an Internet-enabled device; access to electricity and the literacy to understand the online content. In the majority of the developing countries, most of these prerequisites are difficult to meet.

In India, the literacy rate¹³ is around 74% and out of literate people, only 8-9% people have all the resources required to access the Internet. The rural population is more prone to the digital divide than the urban population, who are usually more educated and technology savvy. Delgado, Eagle, & Hasson (2002) wrote a report for Media Lab Asia on the mobile services in rural India. They argued that there is a large market for the digital services in India. For example, the middleman between the farmers and the market can be eliminated by connecting the market to the farmer. Similarly, other trivial information like cricket scores, children asking general knowledge questions, exam results, prices of the crop in the commodity market, information on health services, etc., are not always available on time. Many government agencies and NGOs have contemplated creating village information

¹³ Literacy rate in India http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Literacy_in_India

network by wiring the village, but infrastructure availability and cost of the resources have always been high barriers.

The following sub-sections will argue on why India needs a telecom revolution and will also explore the relationship between technology adoption, social activism and political empowerment in Indian context.

2.4.1 Digital Divide in India

The digital divide in India can be categorised into four types (Keniston & Kumar, 2003):

- a) **Inequality:** The division between rich and poor. In countries like India, there is a significant division between the wealthy and poor. India is among the poorest countries in the world, with the 30% of the population living below poverty line; on the one hand, India has contributed over 84 billionaires to the Forbes list. India has maximum billionaires in the world after US, China and Germany (Forbes Magazine, 2015)¹⁴.
- b) **The linguistic and cultural digital divide:** 80% of the content on Internet is in English, and even if one knows this language, the cultural and contextual references may not apply to the local preferences. There are many barriers: translating information into multiple regional languages India is a land of diverse languages, according to the census of 2011 - there are 30 languages spoken by more than a million each of the native speakers. Keniston and Kumar (2003) observe that several Indian programmers are making attempts

¹⁴ The 25 countries with most billionaires <https://www.forbes.com/sites/katiesola/2016/03/08/the-25-countries-with-the-most-billionaires/#2a9fab4d4e53>

to create content in their local languages, but the real impact is little.

Therefore, any serious web user would find it difficult to use the Internet without knowing English.

- c) **Void between the rich and developing nations:** A zero-sum argument is that while the information age is giving an advantage to one country; it presents a disadvantage for another nation, by giving the former an edge in its growth. The rich nations attract innovation clusters that rely heavily on the resources of money, man, machine and motivation. These innovation clusters provide employment opportunities, thus contributing to the economy of the wealthy nations and, adding insult to injury, also attract the best, brightest and most entrepreneurial knowledge workers from the developing countries. Hence, the gap between wealthy and developing nations is widening more.
- d) **Rise of new social class:** Keniston & Kumar (2003) had introduced an interesting demographic segment in their article – *digerati*. Digerati are the principal beneficiaries of the information age – they are the knowledge workers who are working in the first sectors, like information technology, pharmacology or biotechnology. As per NASSCOM¹⁵ Reports, the information technology industry in India directly employs around 2.5 million and indirectly around 11 million people. The digerati have widened the class gap in the Indian society. Keniston and Kumar (2003) argues that the privileges of the new digerati are not based on the caste, inherited wealth, family connection but that they possess an impressive combination of education, entrepreneurial skills, brainpower and ability to stay updated on the constantly changing world

¹⁵ NASSCOM is an industry association of IT-BPO sector in India www.nasscom.org.

of business. The success of the digerati is not just limited to them but also to over 11 million people who get indirect employment in the IT sector and hence a trickled down share of new wealth. Most of the urban poor may not be as technology savvy as their employers, but they are significantly exposed to the advanced technology devices like smartphones and other ICT gadgets. It is argued the next generation of the urban poor, i.e. the children of service providers, will be more adaptable to the technology and ability to move up on the socio-economic value ladder.

All the four divides are tightly knitted among each other's - the richness/poorness of the nations, English as the ICT language, rise of a new social class and the availability of value-add life resources. Still, the fundamental questions are whether ICT could bridge the digital divide and how the Indian poor, whose priority is food, sanitation and a roof over their head, could be digitally empowered.

An analysis of the digital divide also provides the opportunity to experiment and introduce pragmatic and sustainable digitally supported solutions, which can help bridging together the necessary resources and the Indian poor. Historically speaking, the social change has always led to the social revolutions and new political formations. Examples of such changes can be seen in the cases discussed in other sections of my thesis. Thus, the mobile revolution has helped in empowering people on the socio-economic fringes of the Indian society.

The above point could be further explained with the use of an interesting experiment called 'question box'. Question Box¹⁶ - which is a wall-mounted device

¹⁶ Nikhil Agarwal (PhD Scholar) had been a co-founder of the Question Box

through which a live operator had connected to the people who don't have access to the Internet. A live operator that uses a desktop at a remote location has direct access to the Internet. Street people could ask their questions just by talking to a wall-mounted device, which acts as a "hotline" to the operator. These question boxes are metal, intercom-like devices with just a green power button, a microphone and a loudspeaker. Users can push the button and get connected to the operator in real time. The question box uses the mobile phone inside the box with the extension to the outside button.

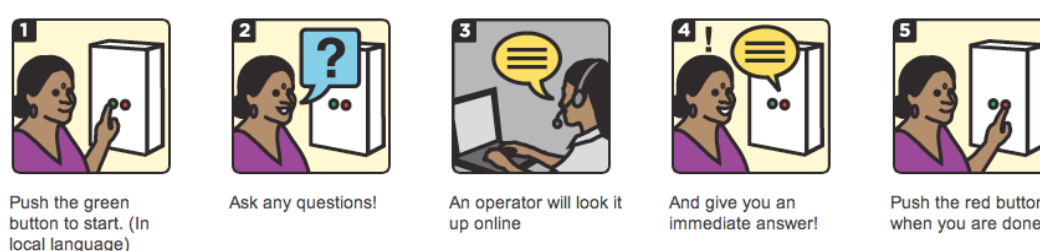
This simple innovation allows the users on the fringe of the digital divide to seamlessly get into the mainstream of the information revolution. The Question Box takes advantage of the informational resources of the Internet with the accessibility and reach of the telephone networks. It brings Internet information via a call- on-demand human intermediated service. The idea in principle is to provide answers to the villagers through a free call, which they can make by pushing the green button on the question box.

Typical questions cover a broad range of issues, including cricket scores, paddy farming advice, codes to the download songs on their mobiles, homework problems, university exam results, train schedules, commodity prices and where to get a personal loan. The main challenge we have faced is to create a sustainable revenue model for this service. Though it is provided free of cost to the villagers, revenue generation from B2B sources is entirely feasible.

The deficiency in communications and other basic infrastructure in the rural India have thus created an opportunity to establish partnerships with the corporations

interested in penetrating rural markets. Even though there is a proven demand for information providing services in the rural India, considerable thought and planning must go into customising service offering of the Question Box to local needs and the necessary resources required in servicing those needs; then revenues can be generated through this project.

Figure 2.4.1: QuestionBox – How it works



There are many examples of the world, where interesting experiments have been done to bring people closer to the technology revolution - i.e., the \$100 laptop project OLCP (one laptop per child) in Africa and the introduction of \$50 low-cost tablet "Aakash" at the Indian schools. What is the real aim to bridge the digital divide? Is it just a fashion to distribute laptops to kids, who probably need food more than computers? The founder of MIT Media Lab and a co-inventor of OLCP Mr Nicholas Negroponte clarifies:

“Laptops, as we know them are a luxury. Education is not. At \$100, this is about learning and exploration, not giving kids costly tools and toys. Almost anything, from healthcare to food to birth control, can be addressed well, if not best, through education”¹⁷. He further points out, "The deeper divides are unequivocally proportional to education. Peace will never happen as long as

¹⁷ As reported in The Guardian <http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2005/feb/17/olpc.onlinesupplement>

there is poverty. Poverty can only be eliminated through education." Cited in (Selwyn, 2012) p.137

The digital divide can be bridged by inclusive participation, education and by creating the long-term plan. The empowered society would be more democratic, transparent and support meaningful politics.

2.4.2 Telecom revolution in India

India is the second largest telecom market in the world, with over 929 Million active users.¹⁸ The popularity of Internet can be attributed to the demographic changes India is witnessing in the last few decades. India is a demographically diverse country with 1.2 billion populations, making it second most populous country after China. The population has seen steep rise since independence, from 450 million in 1961 to 1.3 billion in 2015, putting the high pressure on infrastructure and resources. The steep rise in population has given demographic dividend¹⁹ in India, making it youngest country in the world; 65% of the country's population is below 35 years of age and it is estimated the average age of the population would be 29 in 2020 compared to 37 in China, and 48 for Japan²⁰. National Council of Applied Economic Research conducted a survey in 2009 on reading habits of young Indians, classified as those between age 13 and 35. According to the report, a young literate spends average 98 minutes daily watching TV and 61 minutes daily listening to the radio. The reports further give interesting insights on internet surfing habits, it says,

¹⁸ Telecom Stats from <http://www.indiatelecomonline.com/topics/telecom-statistics/>

¹⁹ Demographic dividend rate of fall in fertility resulting in the increase in economic growth due to more availability of resources. The decline in fertility rate leads to low youth dependency and the high ratio of working population, which would lead to higher economic output. See Bloom (1999, 2000, 2003) reports on Asian Tigers and Celtic Tigers.

²⁰ Basu K (2007), "India's demographic dividend", BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6911544.stm (retrieved on May 2012)

these youngsters spend 70 mins surfing the net, 44 mins reading a magazine and 32 mins with a newspaper²¹. The average time youth spending on different media is 5 hours per day. In future, as mobile and broadband become cheaper, a younger population would spend that much time on the Internet and mobile devices. Several other studies suggest technology adoption in young population is higher than the older population.

Initially, India failed to ride on the worldwide wave of the new frameworks like 3G and 4G networks, which create the seamless experience of mobile web for the end users. However, the trend is fast catching up after overcoming bureaucratic hurdles regarding the delay of the launch of 3G-network. The amendment to the telecommunication policy was announced in 2008, which includes the 3G-spectrum allocation; however, the actual roll out started happening in 2010²². In 2011, the 3G users in India grew to 15 million, and use of smart mobile phones is increased by 52% CAGR. Technology growth, penetration and availability will change the social, business and political landscape in next 3-5 years.

2.5.3 ICT and Political Empowerment in India

India is considered to be the largest democracy in the world with 815 million eligible voters in 2017. In 2014, general elections 553 million voters exercised their franchise. Over 1.4 million EVMs (electronic voting machines) were used in over 930,000 polling booths across the country (Election Commission of India website)²³.

²¹ Pokharel K (2010), "Do Young Indian Read? Not as Much as They Watch TV", Wall Street Journal Blog, <http://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2010/11/15/do-young-indians-read-not-as-much-as-they-watch-tv/> (retrieved on May 2012)

²² India unveils 3G policy: Plans global auction, <http://www.rediff.com/money/2008/aug/01tele.htm>

²³ Election Commission of India <http://eci.nic.in/>

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) played a significant role in the political campaigning during the general elections since 2004. BJP²⁴, which was the ruling party till 2004 elections, is considered to be one of the early adopters of ICT led election campaign. Online campaigning opened up the Pandora box of exposing policy loopholes if the government has failed to create checkpoints for the cyber world. For instance, Internet was used by the running candidates for mud-slugging activities on other candidates through the numerous proxy organisations or individual users.

2.4.4 Social activism in India

The social activism or social movements in India are not a new phenomenon; India has witnessed thousands social movements in its long and cherished history. Social movements in India can easily be categorised as pre-independence (pre-1947) and post-independence (post-1948). The majority of the pre-independence movements were utopian, reformist or resistance. Throughout the British Raj (1757 – 1947), India has seen great social reform movements – some scholars called them *Indian renaissance*, which significantly influenced the Indian society (Fernandes, 1981; M. S. A. Rao, 2000; Shah, 2004). During this period, the reformists' ideas were often grounded in the liberalism, although they may have been rooted in the utopian, socialist or religious concepts (Satapathy, 2009)²⁵. Examples of the Indian Renaissance are well documented by the sociologists and historians; for instance,

²⁴ BJP = Bhartiya Janta Party. BJP is one of the main two political parties in India.

²⁵ S. Satapathy (2009), 'Ten famous reformers who fight against social evils', Blog available at <http://www.indiansocialstudy.com/2009/05/ten-famous-social-reformers-who-fight.html>

Raja Ram Mohan Rai was well known for his work to abolish *Sati*²⁶ practice from Hinduism; Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) tirelessly worked to ease poverty, expand women's rights, build religious and ethnic amity, end untouchability, and increase the economic self-reliance of the working masses.

After gaining independence from the British and initiating self-rule, social movements in India changed their shape and structure - many of them becoming politically motivated or politically sponsored (Shah, 2004). Social historians have failed to record the “net-affect” of the social movements during the early independence. They were documenting social history of people with the politics left out; for example, the social policies of the government, educational reforms, growth of the middle class (Shah, 2004). Shah (2004) had critiqued sociologists who were too focused on the political actions but haven't analysed the grass-root reasons of administrative policies. The political science academia has gloriously ignored the analyses of the inspirations, aspirations, demands and social needs of these policies. According to Shah (2004), the academia was not looking beyond the formal institutional framework and missed the politics of masses. He explained his position as: *"Mrs Indira Gandhi's garibi hatao policy is not analysed in the context of the numerous struggles of the rural and urban poor in the 1960s. It is often forgotten that the functioning of the state cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the politics of the masses"* (p.16). Not only the Indian academics but the western academia has also snubbed the postcolonial vagaries in the sociology, science and

²⁶ According to Hindu scriptures, a *widow* is required to mount the funeral of her dead husband and be cremated along with his corpse. If the man dies at a distant place, the widow is nonetheless to be burned alive on a pyre by herself. A widow who burns herself to death this way is called *sati*. (adopted from <http://www.sos-sexisme.org/english/sati2.htm>)

technology in the Third World (Harding, 2011). From the 1980s, the sociologists have started producing new studies on the Indian peasant movements and other types of social movements (Dubey, 1982; Juergensmeyer, 1982; M. S. A. Rao, 2000; Ray & Katzenstein, 2005). These studies have captured the below-the-carpet accounts of the realities of the social movements and the relationships between policy-politics-society.

Technology has played a dominant role in the social reforms during the last two decades. Social Activism in India has witnessed many thought-provoking cases, such as Jago Re, Delhi Gang Rape to name a few. I have studied some of these cases as pilot cases while selecting the final shortlist for the research. These cases have improved our understanding of how social activists use technology to achieve their social, political and personal goals. Warschauer (2004) gives a detailed account of technology and social inclusion in India. An example of minimally invasive education in the northern India was called "hole in the wall" (Mitra, 2003), where through an social experiment, kids from slums were observed while they played on a computer put up behind the wall, accessible only through a hole. Technology dominance was visible in the six pilot cases taken up for the purpose to choose the final cases for this research, all the cases are post 2010 period.

Empirical cases studied for this thesis, like 'the Pink Chaddi Campaign' and 'India Against Corruption', provide a comprehensive commentary on how social activists appropriated technology to achieve their own goals. The analysed cases discuss the emergence of new social practices by adopting the technology by the population as a whole. Several socio-technical practices have also materialised to provide an efficient platform for successful commercial practices and product.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In an effort to understand the implications of new media for political organisation and the role and significance of single issue groups, this thesis draws upon theories from technology studies – most particularly the social shaping of technology perspective and its extension into the social learning framework. This provides tools to explore how single-issue groups appropriate technology and stimulate local innovations.

According to Russell and Williams (2002), Social Shaping of Technology (SST) is an emerging theory where there is a scope of many terms to be included. Though Williams and Edge (1996) have defined the broader contours of the theory, they have kept the doors open for new convergence and schemes. SST scholars have continuously found strong linkages and overlaps with innovation studies (Stewart, 2002; Stewart & Williams, 2005; Williams & Edge, 1996). SST opposes technological deterministic accounts which fail to address the influence of social factors in innovation and offers instead a complex account of the diverse factors shaping the development and adoption of technology. The premise behind SST is straightforward – technology is not neutral; therefore, society and technology mutually shape each other. Russell and Williams (2002) say, "The idea that technology is socially shaped is fundamentally opposed to technological determinist accounts of the nature of technology, of the relation between a society and its technologies, and indeed of the bases of social organisation and the sources of social change. Such determinist

models have dominated popular and many academic discourses on technology and society” (p.36).

SST scholars have equally been critical of ‘linear’ models of innovation, driven by basic science research and development and suggests ‘interactive’ models of innovation which take into account the role of intermediaries and users (Stewart, 2002; Stewart & Williams, 2005; Williams & Edge, 1996; Williams, Stewart, & Slack, 2005), as the technology is adopted. Fleck (1988a) innofusion concept highlights the way that innovations as technologies are adopted/diffused may feed back into future technology supply – opening up analysis of technologies emerge and evolve over cycles of development and use. Technological innovations follow complex and unpredictable different pathways due to complex interaction between actors and factors. As a result of different contingencies different outcomes may emerge in different settings. In a developing country context, different kinds of technological innovations may arise from the indigenous solutions to the problems or turning adversity into an opportunity when high flexibility and growth is needed, but resources are scarce, that is termed as Jugaad Innovation (Radjou & Prabhu, 2015; Radjou et al., 2012) – literally meaning in Hindi an innovative fix or configuration that works. Stewart and Williams (2005) have explained that the “configuration” and “customisation” of cheap, generic component technologies proved to be highly effective (Fleck, 1988a). We can draw a parallel between Jugaad innovation and configurational, customisable low-cost technology used to develop local innovations. The needs of developing countries can be met by promoting “below the radar” innovation by configuring the technology and keeping the cost low (Kaplinsky, 2011).

There is a debate in the academic literature that the developing countries should move from Jugaad innovation to systematic innovation that Jugaad will tend to pursue local solutions and not necessarily the most advanced (Banerjee, 2013; Krishnan, 2010; Momaya, 2014; Soni & Krishnan, 2014). So many promote integration of developing countries with global innovation processes by matching their innovation systems. The theory of Systematic innovation finds its roots in the National System of Innovation (NSI) framework (Freeman, 1995; Lundvall, Dosi, & Freeman, 1988) that promotes institutional innovation network supported by the government, private sector and academic institutions. Scholars studying innovation in developing countries criticise NIS that it is weak and fragmented (Amir, Thiruchelvam, & Ng, 2013; Intarakumnerd, Chairatana, & Tangchitpiboon, 2002; Jauhiainen & Hooli, 2017). Also, there is a body of literature that discusses the developed countries are shifting their approach from systematic innovation to more flexible approaches in innovation (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007). Jugaad innovation and frugal innovation are till now discussed as a concept with few case examples (Krishnan, 2010; Radjou & Prabhu, 2015; Radjou et al., 2012) and some defined its different types (Soni & Krishnan, 2014). Most of the literature available in the context of 'Jugaad' or frugal innovation focuses on the smaller commercial firms in developing countries and the applicability of innovations thereby generated in large firms in the global economy. Insufficient work is done to understand frugal innovation in social movements especially in the developing country context. This research would build a healthy debate to comprehend how technology configuration combined with frugal innovation can develop sustainable solutions for social activist organisations such as Single-Issue groups in the developing world. Similar debate is arising from IC4D field where there is a challenge to develop a model to provide an

alternative to public or donor funded ICT4D efforts to create dedicated technologies to cater for specific circumstances of particular indigenous communities (Heeks, 2002, 2009). My fellow PhD colleague Luis Lorenzo is working to address that concern as part of his work.

From the SST point of view, technology is appropriated by the user groups into particular social and technical settings which include local practices and culture (Sørensen, 1996; Williams et al., 2005). Considering this context, in this thesis, I have studied technology appropriation with an emphasis on frugal innovations in social movement situation in a developing country such as India. The research has potential to provide a framework with an aim to attain sustainability of social movements.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a wide literature on social movement structure, frames and role of the internet and new media in the achievement of social movement organisation (SMO) goals. Further, the thesis engages in the debate of structure of social movements whether single issue group social movement is structured (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Touraine, 1985), unstructured (Diani, 1992; Turner & Killian, 1957) or form a temporary organisation (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995). New media plays a significant role in new social movements due to shifting in types of conflicts in society (Habermas, 1981). From almost a decade, several social scientists have debated the positive and negative impact of the internet on social movement and achievement of the political cause (Chadwick, 2006; Froomkin, 2004; Norris et al., 2005).

The chapter reviews the existing state of knowledge that provides the foundation for this study, including both substantive knowledge and theoretical frameworks that can inform and guide the analysis. There is a rich literature available on the appropriation of information and communication technologies (ICTs) by the social activists around the world; however, the gaps still exist in our understanding of how social activist appropriate technology. This section will critically review the research conducted by other scholars and attempt to find the shortcomings in the existing literature that will be addressed as a part of my research. A review of the literature has provided me with an opportunity to analyse the critical points of the current knowledge, including substantive findings and theoretical and methodological contributions to the field. My general perspective/epistemology analysis has been focusing on the understanding of the technology-society relationship and, in particular, on the appropriation of ICT, on the character of the social movements and the use of ICT by the social activists.

This chapter discusses the three theoretical frameworks popular in the STS literature: Social Construction of Technology (SCOT), Actor Network Theory (ANT) and Social Shaping of Technology (SST). My research has focused on the appropriation of media and services in the social movements and its effect on the unique organisational forms. Therefore, the SST theoretical framework has been considered more appropriate.

3.2 Theoretical Framework: Social Shaping of Technology

Several important theories/frameworks emerged in the 1980s as scholars from the young field of Science and Technology (STS) studies sought to explain the relationships between society, technology, actors, policy and process, including the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT), Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Social Shaping of Technology (SST). There has been an extensive and productive debate within and between these schools (Williams and Edge 1996). MacKenzie and Wajcman (1985) introduced the SST framework, (Pinch & Bijker, 1984) proposed SCOT model and ANT was conceptualised by (Latour, 1983).

The Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) as proposed by (Pinch & Bijker, 1984) argues that human action shapes technology and technology does not determine human action. The SCOT model is a response to technology determinism also known as technology constructivism. Though SCOT, ANT, SST all models suggests a common theme that technology usage cannot be understood without understanding its social context. However, SCOT model flags the different meaning that diverse relevant social groups impart to a technology. Actor Network Theory (ANT) as proposed by (Latour, 1983) and further developed by (Law & Hassard, 1999) focuses on the 'actors' in the social situation. ANT argues that science and technology are not two ontologically distinct entities. ANT is a constructivist approach that avoids the essential explanation of the events or innovation.

Much of this work in Science and Technology Studies shares a premise that both society and technology shape each other (Cowan et al., 1985; Williams & Edge, 1996) or a so-called Social Shaping of Technology (SST) approach. Williams and

Edge (1996), extended the SST discussion and proposed the reaffirmed SST framework to explore the relationships between technology, innovation and society further. Technology for a long time has been considered to be a "black box", where the content of the technology is known but its "social adoption" is unknown. The SST framework critiques technology determinism and a linear model of the innovation; and it argues that the technological development is a social product, patterned by the condition of its creation and use (Williams & Edge, 1996). SST framework takes the technology adoption and societal behaviour to the next level. It discusses various forces, like socio-economic, cultural and environmental, pulling technological development in their directions. William and Edge (1996) linked this debate to the technology policy that affects the larger section of the society. They warn caution in drawing upon SCOT or ANT; as SCOT and ANT fail to address the issue of choices and socio-economic structure. SCOT and ANT do not take into account the influence of the cultural context and local sensitivities, as they are considered to be micro-level studies (Williams & Edge, 1996; Williams & Russell, 1988).

SST focuses on the larger societal setting related to the policy and process. The Linear model of innovation and technology determinism does not consider always changing liaisons between different strata of society that shape the innovation choices.

Table 3.2: Major theories in STS

Article	Debate
<p>SCOT: Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker's (1987) article, "The Social Construction of Facts and Artefacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SCOT applies concept from sociology of scientific knowledge to explain interpretive flexibility – different meaning of technology to diverse social groups and how closure is achieved. - To understand technology usage, the emphasis is provided on how technology is embedded in the social context
<p>ANT: Bruno Latour (1987) work on Actor-Network theory in the book "Science in Action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ANT theorists argue that science and technology are not two ontologically distinct entities. - ANT attempts to open a black box of science and technology by looking at the complex relationships among governments, technologies, knowledge, texts, money and people - ANT's generalised symmetry questions the distinctions made in analysis between e.g. technical, social and economic factors. - ANT is agnostic towards existing social scientific theories
<p>SST: Donald MacKenzie, and Judy Wajcman (1986), "The social shaping of technology."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish relationship among technology, innovation and society - Focus upon "Mutual shaping of technology."

The most significant contribution from SST towards the scholarship is to help us understand the "mutual shaping" of technology and society. SST scholars argue the *mutual shaping* and *coupling* of technology and society opens up the new avenues of adoption and innovation. To understand SST in more pragmatic way, let us draw upon an example - Mobile phones are invented for communication between two parties, however, reacting to the need of the community, mobile phone manufacturers started bundling other services, such as MP3 players and cameras into them; ending up developing a pocket computer that could do all of these things. This optimal coupling of services and adoption provides an opportunity for the non-linear innovation and value-added experimentation. The coupling of technology and societal needs have created new possibilities for the development of new products and services.

3.2.1 Domestication of Technology

STS scholars use the concept of 'domestication' to study the process of adoption of innovations and technologies by the users. The idea of domestication is conceived regarding "taming" or of an appropriation activity. The concept of domestication was advanced by (R Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992) to analyse the introduction of the ICT into the home.

Sørensen (1996) has taken domestication analysis further, making explicit that at stake is not just taking technology into home; it is rather about taming 'wild technologies' (Lie & Sørensen, 1996) – by drawing an analogy from the initial use of the term to explain how certain wild animals were tamed by the early human communities. The point is that work must be done to adapt technologies to local

contexts, to fit them to their culture, purposes, to explore affordances and develop practices.

Williams, Stewart and Slack (2005) had studied domestication by examining the use of ICTs in various contexts, including the Amsterdam's digital city. They observe how the ultimate user incorporates the gadgets (or artefacts) within their local practices, purposes and culture. The central hypothesis of their theory is that technologies are integrated with our daily lives; the users of technology and their environment change according to the technological innovations.

The appropriation of mobile phones and television is a good example of how these technologies have changed according to the requirements of humans, and how humans have tamed these technologies for their usage. The technologies are adapted, integrated and used differently in every day's life - like the alternative use of mobile phones for taking pictures or text messaging or for accessing the Internet. Domestication links the role of users with the innovation process (Berker, Hartmann, & Punie, 2006; Stewart, 2007; Stewart & Williams, 2005); users incrementally innovate products and services to make technology suitable for themselves or their community.

The domestication theory was initially deliberated by (R Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992) to understand how households were adopting the new media technologies. The domestication theory has evolved since then, and it is being referenced extensively in the innovation and SST literature - how technological innovations are affecting the lives of humans economically, socially and culturally (Berker et al., 2006; Habib, 1998; Hirsch & Silverstone, 2003; Stewart & Williams, 2005).

Silverstone (1992) suggests that the domestication process consists of four elements of symbolic and cultural work: appropriation (how the technology is adopted at home), objectification (the way technology object is fitted into the time and space structure of the home), incorporation (the usage of technology on the daily basis) and conversion (fitting the technological object into the wider social and cultural surroundings) (Stewart, 2002). Domestication is widely influenced by the local context, culture and community behaviours (Lie & Sørensen, 1996).

The domestication process is explained to be dynamic in nature, it does not follow a rigid path or the framework, but its elements evolve during the process (Habib, 1998; Lie & Sørensen, 1996). Habib (1998) argued that the domestication of technology should be viewed as highly interrelated, overlapping and coordinated process rather than sequential and discrete. This approach helps in our understanding of the adoption of new technologies and its consequences on the society.

Stewart (2002) proposes that the social network adopts the principles of domestication of new ICTs and multimedia. The domestication weaves well with the social activism - the new media and mobile technologies are domesticated by the users to such extent that it has redefined the boundaries and relationships between the society and technology.

Domestication of technology can be explained from the moral economy of household - "the moral economy refers to the capacity of households actively to engage with the products and meanings of the public, formal, commodity and individual-based economy and to produce something of their own as a result of that

engagement [...] The moral economy of the household is therefore both an economy of meanings and a meaningful economy” (Silverstone, 1994) (p. 45-48).

Domestication of technology is associated with the social life of the families, and it shaped the complexity of family interaction by the investigation into the uses of technologies (Hirsch & Silverstone, 2003). In my research context, single-issue groups can be considered as a household where role of members is interlinked and based on trust, fairness and goodness, therefore, the meaning of technology and action are necessary.

Williams and Stewart (2006) highlighted that an artefact has to be "acquired, placed, interpreted and integrated" (p56). An artefact can be bought or accessed from somewhere, which can be situated in some form of the mental, symbolic or physical space in our social life. These artefacts have some meaning in our household or social life in the local context and the outside world. More importantly, these artefacts are shaping the social practices of action.

Domestication is an important concept in the technology studies. The user plays an active and decisive role in constructing patterns of use and meanings of technology, and it emphasises the meaning and identity of the artefacts (Berker et al., 2006). Domestication is also known for “a negotiated space of designer’s views and users’ needs and interests” (p 47).

Sørensen and Stuart (2000) and Sørensen (1996) brought attention to the domestication from the household to the construction of wider concepts related to the everyday life. Therefore domestication has the broader implication for the

"Socialisation of technology" (Berker et al., 2006). Sørensen and Stuart (2000) highlighted three main features of domestication and became multi-sited processes:

- 1) Construction of set of practices related to artefacts;
- 2) Construction of meaning of artefacts; and
- 3) Cognitive process related to the learning of practice as well as meaning.

Simply put, domestication approach is widely applied in the science and technology and media studies, to provide the details of the process by which technological innovation is used and appropriated by the users. It relates to how technology is understood and adopted in the daily life and practices. Based on this, users and their environment change accordingly and they, in turn, impact the new generations of the technology and industry.

3.2.2 Appropriation of Technology

Though initial analysis tended to see the significance of technology as being shaped in design, the concept of appropriation highlights the way that the meaning of a technology can be radically transformed in the course of its adoption by the activities of intermediate and final users. A growing body of evidence pointed that the technology adoption is largely contextual that is governed by the habits of end-users and the environment in which it is adopted (Byrne, 2016; Carroll, Howard, Vetere, Peck, & Murphy, 2002; Wirth et al., 2008). Fidock (2011) quotes Carroll (2004), defining technology appropriation – "...as the process through which users adopt, adapt and integrate a technology with their personal, social and work practices" (p38). The example could of mobile phone – the way an executive uses mobile phones adopt and adapt the phone for personal or professional work. There could be

similarities between the uses but also the difference as per the social settings. In the media studies, technology appropriation framework is based on a few key premises (Du Gay et al., 2013):

- 1) Interpretation of technology and its application determines its success or failure;
- 2) Meaning of innovation in technology should be projected internally and externally; and
- 3) The decision about technology appropriation is based on its social appropriateness.

STS scholars also adopt the concept of 'appropriation of technology' (Carroll, Howard, Vetere, Peck, & Murphy, 2002; Mackay & Gillespie, 1992). Williams and Stewart (2006) defined appropriation as "the way in which generic technological capabilities are applied and incorporated into products and services intended for particular social settings and the related processes by which these products and services are incorporated into particular uses in these settings" (p55). They further distinguished intermediate appropriation, related to intermediate customers in the industrial economies, and a final appropriation, used in the cultural and technological studies of how users engaged with artefacts.

Furthermore, Lindtner, Anderson, and Dourish (2012) highlighted the cultural appropriation based on the two fundamental ideas:

"First, the appropriation may lie in how technology is framed and articulated, that is, transformed not as a technical artefact but as a cultural object. Consider, for instance, the different social meanings associated

with a communication that happens via face-to-face interaction, via email, or via SMS text messaging. The second is that, while we study appropriation in particular locales, it often escapes those locales. Trans-local movements of ideas, people and objects, have altered how we relate to one another, across diverse local contexts" (p2).

The literature on models and frameworks explaining various facets of appropriation is diverse. Wirth, Von Pape, and Karnowski (2008) developed an integrated model for technology appropriation and emphasised that the process of diffusion and appropriation may lead to re-invention. They defined "appropriation is an active and creative process that ends in various usage and meaning patterns on both individual and social levels. Diffusion and appropriation are not independent of social conditions such as culture and norms" (Wirth et al., 2008)(p 597). Carroll et al. (2002) have developed a model of technology appropriation (MTA) to understand the how people evaluated technology over time and adopted, adapted and incorporated into their practices (Fidock, 2011). Fidock (2011) further enhanced the MTA model as part of his work to bring its usability in organisations (especially in defence organisations).

This also reflects how ideas are formed, adopted, connected to others and the relationships with them. Appropriation process is continuous negotiation and configuration to distribute the benefits of the technology (Bar et al., 2016). "The appropriation process is a contest for control over a technological system's configuration, as users, designers, and manufacturers battle over who can use that technology, at what cost, under what conditions, for what purpose, and with what consequences. This confrontation, we argue, constitutes a powerful innovation

mechanism” (Bar et al., 2016) (p.618). Users reinvent the technology, tweak their features to fit their needs (Papa & Papa, 1992), this is also called technology reconfiguration (Geels, 2002). Configuration of technology is further discussed in the next sub-sections.

3.2.3 Technology Affordances

James J Gibson introduced the notion of affordances in his article The theory of affordances in 1977 and further developed it in his book The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception (1979). Since then, the concept of affordance has been extensively used in the field of cognitive engineering, human computer interaction and other "socially oriented computing" literature as well as growing usage in the "sociology of technology" and "science and technology studies" literature. Donald Norman in his book The Psychology of Everyday Things (1988) gives other dimensions to the concept. Norman's idea of affordances conflicts with Gibson's notion in some respects (fig 3.2.3). Norman defines an affordance as something of both actual and perceived properties, whereas Gibson's definition of affordance is independent of actor's ability to perceive it.

**Fig 3.2.3: Comparison of Affordances as defined by Gibson and Norman -
adopted from (McGrenere & Ho, 2000)**

Gibson's concept of Affordances	Norman's concept of Affordances
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action possibilities in the environment in relation to the action capabilities of an actor • Independent of the actor's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived properties that may not actually exist • Suggestions or clues as to how to use the properties

<p>experience, knowledge, culture, or ability to perceive</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence is binary – an affordance exists or it does not exist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be dependent on the experience, knowledge, or culture of the actor • Can make an action difficult or easy
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Affordance is the attribute of a thing, item or individual to perform any particular action. The key point about discussing affordances of the earlier terminology of technological functionality is that affordances are not simply there to be “read off” by the user, but must be “explored” by the user (e.g., by trials and errors). In this thesis, technology affordance is used for new technologies and what tasks users can possibly perform with technologies at their disposal (Hutchby, 2001). Technology affordance meaning has been progressed or even changed over a period of time, since Gibson introduced the term, hence there are inconsistencies (Evans, Pearce, Vitak, & Treem, 2016). Evans et al (2016) suggest that these inconsistencies are in the application of the term affordance. Further, they proposed researchers to take consistent stance on affordances means that theories can be tested, validated, disputed, or extended in a manner that will advance the field.

There are two key elements that broaden the concept of affordance – first is the multiplicity of uses and second is the utility that is not self-evident but remains to be discovered by the user. For instance, a mobile phone can afford to be used as a communication device or a computer can afford to accept inputs from the keyboard. Organisations and individuals across the world manipulate technologies for their good, in other words, they domesticate (Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992) these technologies to suit their own needs and support their actions.

An affordance of an object refers to the attributes of both the object and the actor (Gaver, 1991). Gaver (1991) argues it makes the theory relevant, as it demonstrates the deeply embedded relationship between technology and the people who will use it. He explains the concept of affordance with a simple example of a door-handle; the vertical door-handle signifies pulling and horizontal door handle signifies pushing. The affordance of the object, in this case of operation of door-handle, refers to attributes of both the object and the actor; may be referred as 'operability' of the artefact. Both door handles have different affordances, and they are designed to suit the specific requirements. Gaver (1991) says, it is not the design that defines the affordance of an artefact but the interaction with the human being determines its affordances. Pollock and Williams (2010) point out that the organisations learn to exploit the affordances of complex technologies in redeveloping their information and work practices. The technology can be complicated, expensive and unavailable to a larger section of society.

There has been the continuous debate on the meaning of affordance since Gibson (1977) has given the definition. Some of the new scholars (Conole & Dyke, 2004; Scanlon, 2010) provide more emphasis on the co-evolution of users and the technological tools. Gaver (1991) explains two approaches of affordance – cognitive approach and ecological approach. Ecological approach focuses on the relevant human-scaled objects, attributes and events to provide effective information about them (Gaver, 1991). He suggests, ecological perspective may offer a clearly and well-expressed approach about the designs of the artefacts for immediate and relevant action. Whereas the cognitive approaches, are best suited for artefacts that are complex, difficult to use and error-prone (Gaver, 1991).

Social appropriation of technology, as it is called in various SST literature, is the way that technologies come to be actively appropriated by the users (Mackay & Gillespie, 1992). Groups and their members may build their affordances; they may reject the technology, redefine their functional purpose or exalt a very different meaning. In many examples in the above sections, we have seen groups who had redefined a technology in a way that challenges its original, designed and intended purpose (Mackay & Gillespie, 1992). These appropriations generate varied affordances, which, in turn, sometimes lead to the diversity of practices.

The contextual use (or alternative affordances) of technology creates an unexpected tension between user, environment and technology. The creative use of technology is giving us an opportunity to understand the potential of participatory designs (extensively used in the education technologies) (Scanlon, 2010). In the developing countries, the mobiles phones are 'domesticated' by the rural folks, which is consequential on the emergence of "alternative affordances". People learn to exploit the technology and adapt it to suit their life practices; e.g., they use mobile phone's illuminated screens as light "Torches" during power cuts in the evening. Identifying this "new" alternative need for the mobile phone, manufacturers such as Nokia introduced a model C2-05: a phone with a built-in torch that was very successful in the countries like India. Over the period, the built-in torch in the mobile phone has been made a standard feature by the majority of mobile manufacturers (Apple, Samsung, etc.).

3.2.4 Configuration of Technology

The term 'configurations' refers to the alignment between the heterogeneous set of elements that is aimed to fulfil a function (Fleck, 1988a; Geels, 2002). For new technologies or disruptive innovations, it is not easy to break the existing glass ceiling for various reasons such as regulations, infrastructure, user practices, alignment to existing technology, etc. (Christensen, Raynor, & McDonald, 2015; Geels, 2002; Vail & Agarwal, 2007). This thesis discusses on the how social activists reconfigure available resources and technology to create new solutions for organisational sustainability.

To illustrate this, I draw upon the concept of bricolage (Büscher, Gill, Mogensen, & Shapiro, 2001), as developed by Levi-Strauss (1966), is nothing but the creative and imaginative use of available resources for the desired result. Bricolage originated from a Latin word 'bricola' which means tinkering through the combination of resources at hand. Levi-Strauss stresses a point that artist constructs objects for representational and aesthetic purpose and to represent an "object of knowledge". An example quoted by Stinchfield, Nelson and Wood (2013) – "Levi-Strauss would interpret the Mona Lisa as an "object of knowledge" by pointing out that the painting is a scaled-down version of a human being, and creating a scaled-down version requires knowledge of the parts of the human being" (p 892). 'The bricoleur' (a craftsman) is the local expert (Stewart, 2002) that would 'craft' a solution out of existing resources.

Williams and Edge (1996), drawing on Fleck (1988), characterise most IT systems as 'configurational technology' as assemblages of competent technologies developed by different suppliers, selected to meet user requirements in a context

where it is becoming increasingly difficult to develop applications as systematic solution. Williams and Edge (1996) further argues that the firms 'customise' solution to fit their particular structure, working methods and requirement. Their work on configurations focuses on the commercial companies that usually select or link-up several suppliers to get the customised solutions. Technology configuration involves the new learning process, adjustments, experimentations and reconfiguration (Geels, 2002). It directly links to the 'learning by doing' (Arrow, 1962) idea that workers develop more proficient ways of commissioning machinery through their experience from usage (Stewart & Williams, 2005).

Not just technology; actors and institutions are prone to displacement and reconfigurations (Jorgensen & Sorensen, 1999), as an integral part of socio-technical changes. Sociotechnical changes are "emergent and unpredictable" (Russell & Williams, 2002) (p47), because of which the triggers originates. Jasper (1998) defines triggers as highly publicised events such as nuclear accidents or death of a child. Geels (2002) asserts, that during the socio-technical change, one element (external or internal) in the network can trigger changes in other element, thus creating a rippling effect in the system.

There is indeed lack of literature linking up the configurations, frugal innovations in single-issue groups context in developing country like India. This thesis would address the gap and contribute to scholarship by proposing a new configuration framework that would be useful in the resource constrained environment such as single-issue groups and temporary organisations.

3.2.5 Social Learning framework of the Social Shaping of Technology

The Social Learning perspective (Lie & Sørensen, 1996; Sørensen, 1996) provides insights of matched generic technological capabilities, applied in the diverse social settings. Williams and Stewart (2006) defined social learning as it “seeks to understand how such technological capabilities are appropriated and become embedded in the society” (p48). They further disclose that social learning encompasses:

- 1) various cycles of development and consumption of technology;
- 2) The technology is applied in the broader circumstances, such as mass population interaction;
- 3) It may lead to the formation of wider technology regimes.

Social learning is a vast subject; therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, social learning aspects particularly relevant to Information, communication and technology (ICT) has been used with the emphasis on the role of the media.

Many different ways of learning have been described in the previous literature. Arrow (1962) explained the phenomenon of “learning by doing”, and defined that “learning is a product of experience”. He further explained that learning could only take place in an attempt to solve the problem and, therefore, it only takes place during the activity of solving the problem. “Learning by using” (Rosenberg, 1982) relates to the process where the user gains acquaintance with the technology during its usage, as he/she acquires skills and knowledge of technology. This also points out that technology can have different utility, affordance of which could be explored. Another experience could be the “learning by interacting”, where people learn

technology and supplies by complex interactions (Lie & Sørensen, 1996; Schneider, Visé, Lockl, & Nelson, 2000). Interestingly, Fleck (1988) has developed a concept of 'Innofusion', to draw attention to the processes of innovation in the course of technology diffusion. It is based on the premise that different insights could be drawn from the same technology diffusion process and emphasised upon "struggle to get the technology to work in a useful way in point of application". The fundamental principle remains the same, learning is an iterative process that improves with continuous usage and experience.

Rip et al. (1995) argued over how these technologies are accepted or rejected by large social systems. It is interesting to explore how technologies are adopted and manifested across different human and artefact settings. Herbold (1995) provided a notion of "society as a laboratory" to learn technological capabilities. People are not bounded, stable, autonomous entities but are instead social objects, made up of and constituted by relations with other people and by the ideas and practices that are prevalent in their social environments (Markus, 2008). Williams and Stewart (2006) elaborated that social learning has been related to the application, consumption and use of technologies, and they brought attention to the "domestication of technology" from the perspective of learning by using perspective.

Stewart and Hyysalo (2008), in their study of the intermediaries, users and social learning in the technological innovation explored the functions of the intermediaries in the development and appropriation of new technologies. They observed the positions of the "actors" and "settings" that could create spaces and opportunities for the appropriation and generation of new products (Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008). One of the purposes of innovation intermediaries (Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008) is to identify the

innovative use of the media (new media and mainstream media) for better communication and collaboration.

3.2.6 Innovation

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)²⁷ Oslo manual (OECD/Eurostat, 2005), defined innovation as “the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service) or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations”.

There is ample literature available on Innovation in almost all academic disciplines. Though the treatment of Innovation by different disciplines may differ but the fundamentals remain intact. While reviewing the literature specially related to innovation in developing economies, draws our attention to the discussion of open model of innovation (Von Hippel, 2001). It focuses on the role of users in developing the products/services versus the disruptive model of innovation (Christensen et al., 2015) that put emphasis on the developing new technology, new value and new market by disrupting the existing ones. The cost of disruption is sometimes unaffordable in resource constrained environment (Bhatti, Khilji, & Basu, 2012); therefore, open collaboration model is more suitable in developing countries context (Tiwari & Herstatt, 2012). While developing the products, as part of the design of the process – higher user participation is anticipated, thus ensuring the resilience and sustainable solutions that's suits the environment. There exists the commonality between the elements in the models of innovation w.r.t to innovations in resource

²⁷ Adopted from OECD website - http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/sti_scoreboard-2013-en/03/02/index.html?itemId=/content/chapter/sti_scoreboard-2013-19-en

constraints environment – for eg. Low-cost innovation, More for Less for More People (MLM), pro-poor innovation, inclusive innovation to name a few (Bhatti et al., 2012; Pansera, 2014; Soni & Krishnan, 2014) follow the premise of finding the solution using trickled resources. Jugaad innovation (Radjou et al., 2012) follows the similar path of constructing the solution through improvising with minimal resources. Pansera (2014) in his doctoral thesis argues, "[i]t is virtually impossible to classify the literature analysed into a set of clearly defined and fixed categories." (p. 55) and that "[a]ny taxonomy will degrade the complexity of each approach and would not take into account the fact that ideas, meanings and principles overlap and are dynamic in practically all the works considered." (p. 55).

It is quite evident though many models of innovations pertaining to developing countries exists but most of them not addressed the sustenance issue in continuous changing environment. The role of local actors (users and suppliers) is highlighted by Fleck (1988a) in his attention to innofusion and the role of users in configurational technology and need for linkages between the local actors. The thesis builds on the empirical evidence to suggest upon the local and contingent method based on understanding contexted approach to technology development and appropriation. An action framework is suggested in the thesis that explores how the skilful activities of local actors in dealing with situations in local context by configuring the technology using resources in hand.

A. Open and Collaborative Innovation:

Eric Von Hippel, the Professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) has done seminal work on open and collaborative innovation. In his book 'Democratising Innovation' (Von Hippel, 2005b), he says users of products and

services are increasingly able to innovate for themselves. He explains that the user-centric innovation process is much advantageous over manufacturing-centric innovation (Von Hippel, 2005b) because users themselves know their needs better. It is similar to buyers-model where buyers decide on what to buy as per their need rather than sellers-model where seller or manufacture sell the whatever they produce. The forceful adoption of the products or services can now be democratise by the users as they develop innovations on their own or they share innovations develop by others.

Some scholars studying social movements argued that innovation happens due to changes in external/internal settings (Wang & Soule, 2016). User participation is becoming increasingly important for the products and services designed by the firms. User-centric innovation is far more critical than manufacture-led innovation because it gives an advantage of knowing beforehand the likes and dislikes of the user's acceptance (Von Hippel, 2005b). Before pushing the products into the market, firms invite select users and other collaborators to work on the upcoming offerings, to fine-tune them to the near perfection.

Open collaboration innovation involves contributors who share their designs and concepts (usually online in the current context) and invite others to participate. Many open source software projects are built on the similar principles (Baldwin & Von Hippel, 2011). Von Hippel (2011) further defines the term "innovation opportunity", as an opportunity to create a new design. In addition to the time and effort, each innovation opportunity has four associated costs – design cost, communication cost, production cost, and transaction cost. In the open collaboration model, overall cost per-innovator is sub-divided with the other innovators, as every innovator is

responsible for taking care of their module or component. As historical trends suggest, the cost of producing technology is being reduced over the period, until the technology becomes redundant.

User-centric innovation is important in the resource constrained environment such as single-issue groups in the developing countries. Similar to grass-root innovation concept Jugaad innovation (explained in the next sub-section), user-centric innovation is puts users in the centre for the innovation process, thus fostering inclusivity. Von Hippel (2005) idea of democratic innovation process compliments the SST perception of inclusive model of technology adoption and interactive models of innovation (Williams & Edge, 1996). My research has developed and deliberated these concepts of innovation to test them empirically in developing country environment such as India.

B. Jugaad or Frugal Innovation

Jugaad is a Hindi word synonymously used for innovative fix or configuration that works. The ability to produce a frugal, flexible and inclusive improvised solution using ingenuity and resourcefulness in resource constraint environment is Jugaad innovation (Radjou et al., 2012). The simplicity of the configuration and focusing on the core needs is the principle of the Jugaad innovation. Radjou et al. (2012) calls “Jugaad - the gusty art of improvising an ingenious solution” (p.3). One of the most successful examples of Jugaad innovation is the Mitticool village fridge - a improvised box made of clay, that is designed in such a way that it keeps the water and other perishable food products cool during the warm temperatures of India. The fridge does not need any electricity, 100% biodegradable and produces zero waste. Another example of frugal innovation was explained in earlier chapters about the

‘question box’ that bridge the digital divide in cost effective way. Jugaad is practiced in many forms in daily lives, at home or at work place or anywhere else. While growing up in India, I myself have experience hundreds of examples that can be called ‘innovative fix’, though not every Jugaad has commercial application but it resolves a problem. As part of my research, I have covered ‘missed call’ as innovative solution for a complicated problem faced by India Against Corruption group.

There are three main criticisms against Jugaad: First, it encourages dubious practices (includes breaking law or working without regulatory permissions), however, like any other tool, it would do wonders in right hands. Second, it diminishes the quest for quality. Evidence suggests that combination of Jugaad mind-set and high-quality standards can produce quality solutions. Third criticism points towards scalability of the Jugaad products. This is mostly unfounded as examples exist of many solutions that have been replicated in different settings (Radjou et al., 2012).

In developing country context one of the perennial issues in innovation is resource constraint while in developed countries, the concerns are significantly different. Most companies in EU cannot afford to spend money on R&D – they are severely constrained. A problem is that they do not necessarily recognise they need to innovate, or could innovate. In developed countries such as US or countries in Europe, issues are how to make their operations sustainable and developing green products while their rivals in developing countries do not face such pressure (Nidumolu, Prahalad, & Rangaswami, 2009).

Jugaad Innovation works on six principles (Radjou et al., 2012): a) *Seek opportunity in adversity*: Jugaad innovation perceives harsh constraint as the invitation to innovate leading them to come up with solutions during adversity. B) *Do more with less*: Jugaad innovators optimally utilise resources available to develop the best possible solution. C) *Think and act flexibly*: Radjou et al. (2012) called Jugaad entrepreneurs as 'antithesis' of systematic approach such as six-sigma. Jugaad innovators always question the status-quo and chart their paths d) *Keep it simple*: Jugaad innovators do not seek perfection but rather developing a 'good-enough' solution to get the job done. E) *Include the margin*: Jugaad innovators are inclusive in nature, their business models engage low-income and non-traditional communities not as passive customer but active value co-creator and f) *Follow your heart*: Jugaad innovators don't just follow the market model, but they know their customers intimately, and they follow their hearts.

Zeschky, Winterhalter, and Gassmann (2014) defined three types of resource constraint innovations: Frugal innovation, good-enough innovation and cost innovation. Frugal innovation provides solutions for 'new for less', good enough innovation for 'tailored for less' and cost innovation 'same for less' however, the former is focused on application, middle one provides attention to process and product and latter particularly on process innovation. Govindarajan and Euchner (2012) defined a new concept 'Reverse Innovation'. Reverse innovation refers to innovation seen in developing countries before the industrialised world. Goods are developed an inexpensive model to meet the needs of developing nations targeted to deal with requirements of low-cost products. These goods are often created locally, market locally and when successful sold in developed countries. In current

market scenario, Zeschky et al. (2014) found that number and quality of innovation in emerging markets are increasing, particularly frugal innovation and good enough innovations, with affordable products which meet the needs of resource constrained customer. Frugal Innovation is, in fact, considers the needs and context of citizens in developing countries to develop “appropriate, adaptable, affordable and accessible solutions, products and services” (Bhatti et al., 2012).

From many decades, innovation is surrounded with a debate on systematic innovation. Systematic innovation determines the systematic and methodologically analysing and solving problems (Banerjee, 2013; Krishnan, 2010; Momaya, 2014; Soni & Krishnan, 2014). National System of Innovation (Freeman, 1995; Lundvall et al., 1988) endorses systematic innovation theory; postulating that the economic growth of the country is possible when innovation is managed systematically through firms, educational institutions and organisations. According to (Freeman, 1995), country's economic growth and its innovative performance largely depend on 'collective system of knowledge' based on the behaviour of these actors and their technology adoption. Scholars have discarded NIS and systematic innovation that it does not work in developing countries' context, calling it weak and fragmented (Intarakumnerd et al., 2002; Jauhiainen & Hooli, 2017). However, authors such as Krishnan (2010) still supports systematic innovation for India; he argues that it is high time for India to move from Jugaad Innovation to systematic innovation; unaware of the fact that the world is moving toward more creative and customised solutions. According to Radjou et al. (2012), Jugaad innovation compliments Systematic innovation – "It's important to note, however, that Jugaad isn't relevant for all situations and contexts. In particular, Jugaad shouldn't *replace* Western companies'

existing structured approach to innovation; rather, Jugaad should *complement* it” (p25).

In this thesis, one of my aim is to discuss the type of innovation is beneficial for social movement settings in developing country context. My attempt is to gain understandings into how social activists have used the principle of the frugal/open collaborative innovation, to develop a sustainable infrastructure and solutions for achieving their short-term and long-term goals.

3.2.7 Social Movements as Temporary or Permanent Organisations

Temporary organisations are short term, non-conventional in nature (e.g. projects) (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995; Rimkuniene & Zinkeviciute, 2014), so are social movement organisation such as single-issue groups (Warhurst, 1986); usually formed to achieve a specific goal. This section reviews the theory of temporary organisations (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995) and relates it with single-issue groups.

Under the law it is said that organisations have ‘perpetual existence’ (Schwartz, 2012), therefore, they are assumed to be permanent. Lundin and Söderholm (1995) discussed organisations formed to carry out unique "actions" with the predefined tasks to be performed in a specified period, called ‘temporary organisations’.

Social movement scholars have debated about the formal or informal organisational structure of social movements (Diani, 1992; McAdam et al., 1996, 2003; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Melucci, 1989; Touraine, 1985; Turner & Killian, 1957). Social Movement Organisations (SMOs) are often seen as organisers of the

collective actions to challenge authorities by the people whose demands are not addressed for a long time, or needs and interests are not treated (Shah, 2004).

SMOs need to manage internal and external discourses. SMOs internal conversations differ in their resource mobilisation strategies. Diani (2000) explained the focus of SMOs as: "Some of Social Movement Networks virtual and the real focus on professional resources, others on participatory resources. Besides, they differ in their availability to adopt confrontational strategies, and the resulting need to take this opportunity into account when designing their organisational profile" (p8). Social movements particularly SIGs are resource constraints (money, expertise etc) as they have limited ways and time to raise the required resources.

Table 3.2.8: Characteristics Social Movement Organisations and Temporary Organisation

Characteristics of Social Movement Organisations	Characteristics of Temporary Organisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SMOs are considered as organisers of collective movements • It may represent internal or external actions • Internal actions are related to organisational matters and mobilisation of resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) • External actions are dealt in a move to get involved in public debate, persuading the audience, discussions with authorities, counter movements and generating support from the general public. It affects the culture (Melucci, 1989). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time is crucial as temporary organisations need to show results to prove their existence • Insufficient number of defined tasks • Task usually of once in lifetime affair and unique • Different resources are required especially teamwork

Lundin and Söderholm, (1995) defined four concepts which segregate permanent and temporary organisations as "time, task, team and transition" and described differences between them as "Permanent Organizations are more naturally defined by goals (rather than tasks), survival (rather than time), working organization (rather than team) and production processes and continual development (rather than transition)" (p441).

- 1) *Time*: The existence of the single-issue groups is for the limited time, till their core objective is met. For temporary organisations, the handling of time is more complicated as it is constrained
- 2) *Task*: The task provides legitimacy to the temporary organisation, and it is similar to the goal of a permanent organisation. In the case of the permanent organisation, the focal point of the goal is for decision making, whereas, in the temporary organisation is focuses on action. Lundin and Söderholm, (1995) further discusses the different type of task such as unique and repetitive.
- 3) *Team*: Temporary organisations are dependent on the will, commitment and ability of individuals to undertake various tasks. The team in the temporary organisation is formed to execute a task in given period.
- 4) *Transition*: Temporary organisations have to be transformed, or changes as a consequence of the tasks completed or before the organisation is terminated. The transition can also be seen as the exploration of aspiration of the temporary organisation.

Due to temporary nature of SIGs, they lack good team and other resources. Many times, due their short life-cycle they are unable to raise enough resources

(expertise, money, support) for their operations. Permanent organisations can hire expertise or poach them from the market by paying the right price for the expertise that is not easy for smaller organisations and temporary organisations. Though there is evidence available that NGOs hire 'volunteer experts' for critical technical task like software services or creating websites (Hess, Breyman, Campbell, & Martin, 2008; Stewart, 2002). For instance, Hess et al. (2008) give example of FLOSS (Free/Libre open source software) movement where volunteer programmers (read experts) provide services to develop the software. In my research, I would provide further evidence on how temporary organisations such as SIGs hire volunteer/non-volunteer expertise for various tasks and raise other resources in developing countries settings.

Another important aspect to be highlighted is that temporary organisations are hard pressed for time therefore, they need quick results. In management literature, it is argued even permanent organisations have to demonstrate short-term success to keep the motivation of employees high (Kotter, 2012; Maximini, 2015). Many leaders in bigger organisations in race to prove themselves, look for quick-wins (Van Buren & Safferstone, 2009), though it is argued that they may fall into a trap. However, temporary organisations do not have a luxury of investing in long term strategies, hence they need 'quick wins'. Quick wins are related to the "strategic surprise" that is defined as, "The possibility of achieving decisive results from attacks launched on short, or zero, warning has appeared to improve greatly with advances in technology" (Gray, 2005) (p5). Though the term is borrowed from the military terminology, but it is much relevance in the SIG context (Jorgensen & Sorensen, 1999). While comparing moths and bees with CEOs of organisations (Winter, 2004)

argues, strategic surprises may lead to strategic opportunities. In SIGs case, this can be critical to unveil a surprise to the establishment to ensure a quick-win.

In this research, I will empirically test the similarities amid social movement organisations such as single-issue groups as temporary organisations. The cases covered in this inquiry are entirely temporary in nature. The Pink Chaddi movement was in existence for few months and India Against Corruption barely survived over a year. The role of technology in temporary organisations such as SIGs is under investigated (Rimkuniene & Zinkeviciute, 2014) and it lacks empirical evidence. The research would gain insights on how temporary organisations rely on technology for achievement of their goals as the role of technology in temporary organisations.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

For this inquiry two detailed cases have been selected – The Pink Chaddi Campaign and India Against Corruption. The Pink Chaddi is a born digital case, formed to tackle the problem of moral vigilantism, whereas, India Against Corruption is a traditional style single-issue group that have used offline and online methods to advance its goals. The cases demonstrate the distinctive types of single-issue social activist groups in India. Before being undertaken a full-fledged research project, six cases were selected for pilot investigation, to map the landscape and explore the range of the phenomena (Table 4.1). These cases were then presented to the university department and at a conference at the school, also discussed in detail with the supervisors. After receiving the feedback from the peers, it was decided to focus the thesis down upon two cases for detailed examination.

The pilot cases have stimulated me to conduct a detailed empirical investigation, to further understand the appropriation of technology by the groups and the emergence of new practices. To support the primary work, an extensive secondary research project is needed that included a survey of the published academic literature, newspaper articles, audio-visual materials, etc. Particular cases have been carefully selected to ensure broad-based sampling across the single-issue activism in India; these cases were widespread in the media, which significantly raised the profile of this issue.

Table 4.1: Pilot cases undertaken to map the landscape and study the phenomenon

SN.	Name of Activist Group	Classification of Groups	Issue raised
1.	Lead India – Bleed India	Awareness / Advocacy	No criminals in elected office. Supported by the largest media group in India
2.	Jago Re	Awareness / Advocacy	Motivating voters to vote on election day
3.	India Against Corruption (IAC)	Organization / Mobilization/ Awareness / Advocacy / Action / Reaction	Mobilising people against corruption and advocating for policy change to penalise corrupt officials. The IAC mobilised over 100 million Indians in the last two years. Being one of the most active protests, IAC qualifies for all the classifications of the groups.
4.	Protest against black money	Organization / Mobilization	Policy mandate to check transfer of black money to foreign safe destinations and efforts to bring this money back to India.
5.	Pink Chaddi Campaign	Action / Reaction	The reaction against the moves of a radical group to overpower women.
6.	Justice for Jessica	Action / Reaction	Action to prosecute the miscreants for the murder of an actress.

This chapter focuses on the overall research and methodology for the study. It begins with the examination of the overall purpose and research questions undergirding this study, and it proceeds with a discussion of various methodological

components of the research design, including the choice and justification of the phenomenology design as a selected mode of studying and also addressing various research questions. Also, included in this chapter are the discussions of various research instruments that have been employed in the study, including population sampling techniques, data collection and analytical procedures adopted for the data.

4.1.2 Historic Campaigns and Contemporary Designs

As mentioned in the previous section, I have undertaken six pilot cases to understand the landscape. Of these two cases were chosen for detailed review based on upon retrospective interviews and search of a range of resources (analyses, media coverage, websites). I was able to build a historical reconstruction of how the movement emerged in the recent past and further examine how campaigning work unfolded in real time. This allowed a longer timeframe than merely doing contemporary ethnography (e.g. through participant observation). The longer timeframe gave me a better chance to examine the process of social learning (including exploiting my respondents' willingness to act as co-researchers and reflect on their own experience). There is a risk in historical accounts of only accessing hindsight understanding (Zainal, 2007), however, I was able to uncover recent debates through my in-depth interactions with the participants.

There are challenges of doing participatory research with historical cases. It is difficult to communicate with participants on on-going basis due to their geographic diversity (Reilly, 2010) and limited availability. I used technology (Skype, phone call, email) to remain in touch with my interviewees for any clarifications or more information if needed. Another challenge was to maintain consistency of questions; I have prepared a topic guide (see table 4.2.6) that assisted me to capture the themes

covering my research questions. Though there were challenges, but there are substantial benefits to this approach. I was able to gain greater insights into issues and contexts by having an equal partner who provides the ‘insider’ view and knowledge (Reilly, 2010). I was able to gather greater confidence in the interpretation of the data, since it was grounded in the participant authentic experiences. Through this I was able to generalise arguments and theorising the in-field results.

The focus of my research is to understand how social activists afforded ICTs that cover offline and online campaigning. In the literature, there are examples explaining how online and offline activism are recognised in the recent research across several countries (see Table 4.1.2). It is apparent that authors have used various approaches of contemporary research (interviews, surveys, cases etc) for their work.

Table 4.1.2: Examples from the literature on online and offline activism

Author	Method	Country of Research	Roles of offline and online activism	Results and details
Ganesh and Stohl (2010)	24 Interviews of key informants carried out in end of 2006	New Zealand	ICT may or may not impact offline activism	Activists reported mixed results and showed skeptical, cynical, equivocated attitude for the role of ICT in social movement. A few even become advocates of role of ICT with a transformational potential but concerned for security issues.

Van Laer (2010)	Three set of activists group survey and small face to face interview	Belgium	Educated youth are more engaged in online activism	Results have shown a relation between online and activists characteristics such as their background, formal/informal network embeddedness, and motivation to participate in collective actions. Younger and better educated activist are inclined for online participation, organisations without formal structure often bypass internet and online activists are strongly embedded in formal organisational settings.
Harlow and Harp (2012)	Survey	United States and Latin America	Online activism works as a catalyst and enhancing role for offline activism	Research supported a combination of online and offline activism. The research countered the previous argument that online activism inspires offline actions rather it advocates for online activism translates into offline activism. It pinpoints that digital tools are able to enhance traditional offline tactics rather than replacing it.
Butler (2011)	Survey	United State of	Social action and productive	The study highlights the Obama campaign and

		America	modes of engagement in the digital era	discussed how new communities of activists working outside the mainstream party machines, and making extensive use of social media, for direct to voter communication, and voter to voter engagement.
Rao and Dutta (2017)	Case Studies	India	ICT may or may not impact offline activism or sometimes complimentary	Findings revealed usage of a variety of online and offline techniques. Online and offline techniques are sometimes complimentary.

4.2 Research Design

The literature review has exposed gaps areas in the scholarship on the appropriation of technology by the social activists and single issue groups. These gaps are especially apparent for the explored cases from the developing world. There is the dearth of literature on the technology appropriation by the social activist's groups from the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, there was an opportunity to undertake empirical work, to test out research questions in the Indian settings.

The empirical cases selected for this research – the "Pink Chaddi Campaign" and "India Against Corruption" - were the most visible examples of activist campaigns in India. As a part of the research, two broad dimensions associated with the appropriation of technology and societal adaptability have been investigated. To

better guide the research, these questions, in turn, have been further divided into more specific sub-questions.

RQ 1. How are new ICT media and services being appropriated by various single-issue-groups?

- a. What kinds of technologies are available to the single-issue-group activists in India?
- b. Do these technologies represent the universal media or the local media?
What is the extent of local adaptation of these technologies?
- c. Do we see the differences in the tools adopted and in the development of new practices between different SIGs and demographics?

RQ 2. How is the appropriation of new media/tools, with their different affordances, helping in constructing distinctive organisational forms in the Indian social movements?

- a. How do these technologies help to organise collaboration and effective communication among different kinds of members/activists in the same group?
- b. What kind of difficulties shapes the appropriation of technology by the single-issue group members?
- c. How do new practices (like socio-cultural, technological, etc.) arise? How are they disseminated?

RQ 3. How do these specific contexts shape?

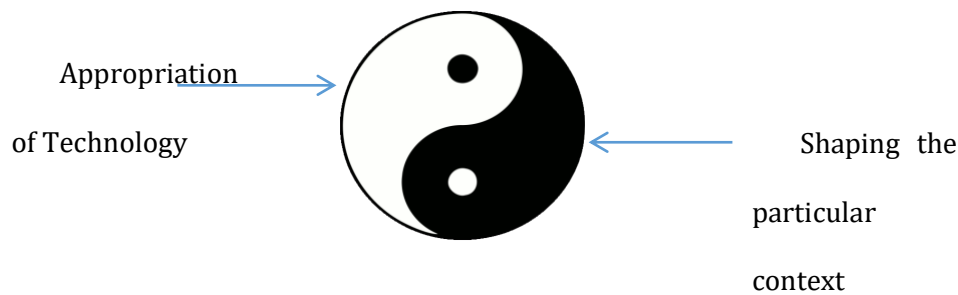
- a. The appropriation of the new media
- b. The development of communication forms/practices
- c. The development of a new form of political structures?

The above research questions may focus upon descriptive goals, of characterising novel phenomena, however the underpinning objective is to overcome gaps in understanding of processes of appropriation of new ICTs in developing country contexts. The research questions are built on the co-evolution model –the way the society is adopting technology and vice-versa; strong coupling between society and technology is helping in the mutual shaping of each other. There is some evidence available on the appropriations of new media by the groups and individuals; especially for the youth in the developing countries that are more adaptive to the latest gadgets and technological changes.

The first two research questions address the appropriation of technology when using new media tools; how different affordances are emerging and which new practices have been emerging. The RQ3 is designed to address more analytical issues about the influence of context on appropriation, as well as to identify the emergence of organisational forms/political practices that may in turn go on to reshape the pluralistic structure of the society.

While developing the literature review, I was able to establish that a wide range of technology appropriations and methods has been currently emerging. There is some published evidence regarding how different groups adopt diverse practices, and their members create diverse affordances (Conole & Dyke, 2004; Scanlon, 2010). One of the aims of my research is to examine these claims by an empirical investigation. The two issues -the appropriation of technology and how the appropriation/ affordances are shaping particular context issues are closely coupled with each other. I have drawn inspiration from the Chinese Yin-Yan design, to explain my position of the close coupling and mutual shaping of each other.

Fig 4.2: Coupling of Technology



The principal challenge here is not of exploring individual usages of technology, as all social activist groups use technology in certain fashions. My aim is to understand the coupling of technology (Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008; Williams & Stewart, 2006) with the social activism and its continuing impact on the outcomes of the groups. The questions regarding the wider participation may not be yet possible to answer decisively, but it could provide the directions for future research. Such research should look at the embryonic emergence of technology that could guide in constructing the argument on the affordances and appropriation in ambience to the developing societies like India.

4.2.1 Research Approach

Creswell and Clark (2007) have said that one of the main reasons for carrying out a qualitative study is when a study is exploratory. This research seeks to explore and understand the “lived experiences” of the individuals for the appropriation of technology in the social activist groups in India (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003; Patton, 2002). Phenomenological studies explore multiple perspectives of the individuals who share a common experience (Creswell et al., 2003; Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002), these fields contain individual

experiences, the social construction of group reality and the language of communion. It is deemed as an enquiry paradigm and a social analytical orientation.

A phenomenological study concerns acquisition of new knowledge from the lived experiences of individuals. Hopp (2008) asserts that “the most basic task of phenomenology is to acquire a certain body of knowledge – knowledge about the essential characteristics of consciousness, intentionality, and, perhaps principally, knowledge itself” (p.194). Phenomenology is thus about going further in clarifying meanings of experiences. As Sanders (1982) formulates it, “phenomenology seeks to make explicit the implicit structure and meaning of human experiences” (p.354). Creswell and Clark (2007) further states that “a phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon” (p. 57).

Manen (1990) also stated that "phenomenology asks for the very nature of the phenomenon, for that which makes a some-thing' what it is and without which it could not be what it is" (p.10). To Wertz (2005) and Patton (2002), using the phenomenological approach assists in gaining direct experiences of people, which is capable of strengthening in our consciousness of what they experienced. Küpers, (2009), states that phenomenology is marked as a specific style and movement of thought. It is characterised by a flexible and vivid way of inquiry, as it takes different directions, and continuously tries out new ways of reasoning. Thus, it approaches the experienced phenomena in question, and it's various and inexhaustible dimensions of meaning and ambiguities in perspective (p. 52).

The phenomenological study thus requires a careful and systematic collection, analysis and presentation of individuals' experiences in a given phenomenon. For the purpose of this study, phenomenological descriptive design is adopted, how social activists appropriate technology in the two selected cases (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Lee & Lings, 2008; Moustakas, 1994; Patton, 2002), and the emergence of new practices. According to Tesch (1990), a key differentiating element between the phenomenology and other qualitative research approaches is the subjective experience of each person studied, which provides relative value for each experience.

At the centre of phenomenological research lies the human experience of an occurrence (Manen, 1990). So, phenomenology asks the question, 'what makes something that it is?' This description comprises what an individual has experienced and how that particular person uniquely experienced that phenomenon (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). As a qualitative approach, phenomenology is regarded suitable for exploring new research areas; and scholars in this field (Creswell et al., 2003; Morse, 1991) argued for its usage in the research settings where less is known about the phenomenon under study.

The effect of technology on the social activism is an evolving phenomenon and so far, has received far less research attention. Even more so, the dearth of research in this subject area in India justifies a phenomenological approach to its exploration. In this regard, therefore, through the phenomenological approach, the lived experiences of individuals on the appropriation of technology for the social activism in India Against Corruption, and the Pink Chaddi campaigns have been investigated and documented in details. This approach has enabled to unravel the

lived experiences of the respondents in the study. Lived experience would be a reasonable framing for a sociological study from the phenomenological perspective.

4.2.2 Choice of Methods

Ethnographic and historiographic methods are widely adopted methods used in STS to examine phenomena in case studies under qualitative research particularly for the situations where either lived experience of individuals is important or where they have knowledge of the context and explicit and implicit structures and meaning of human experience or both. Nurani (2008) identified two characteristics of ethnography related to how the observation takes place in natural settings and how the event is perceived and interpreted from the perspective of participants.

Ethnographic studies emphasise upon the natural setting of phenomenon.

Ethnographic research is criticised in particular a) as it is labour intensive, required extended engagement with natural settings; and 2) as there are concerns about replicability and generalisability as the particular factors in case-study sites may not pertain elsewhere (Yin, 1994). In contrast, a case study “investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p13).

In this research, I am studying the social learning processes through in actors’ appropriate technology and exploit the affordances of new media to achieve their objectives. The approach adopted in this thesis, involving an initial mapping phase of research and multiple case studies seek to mitigate the limitations of case-study methodologies (e.g. single site ethnographies) regarding replicability and generalisability (Yin, 2008). The logic for multiple case studies is based on literal replication (prediction of same results) or theoretical replication (producing

contrasting results for predictable reasons). For analytical reasons, multiple case study is preferred over single case studies which increases the chances of external validity.

Eisenhardt (1989) explained the scenarios for selecting a case study: “The cases may be chosen to replicate previous cases or extend emergent theory, or they may be chosen to fill theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types. While the cases may be chosen randomly, random selection is neither necessary nor even preferable.....Thus, the goal of theoretical sampling is to choose cases which are likely to replicate or extend the emergent theory” (p537). According to Yin (2008), the theoretical replication leads to generation of theoretical framework for the development of new cases. Yin (2008) explained the reasons why pilot cases are supportive in selecting a more useful case to test the theory than method: 1) Inquiry in the case is broad and less focused; 2) Help refine data collection plans. In general pilot cases are not pre-test and are often chosen based on geography, convenience, and access.

As mentioned above, I undertook six pilot cases and chose the best suited cases for further investigation. I have explored how these processes unfolded in two contrasting circumstances – a traditional mass movement exploiting new ICTs and a born digital SIG – at a key point on the uptake of new ICTs in political campaigning.

4.2.3 Population and Sampling Strategy

As discussed in the previous chapters, social activism in India is not a new phenomenon. Technology relationship with the social activism has significantly matured in recent years. Two cases were selected for empirical study that represent

the new era of social movements in which technology has played a crucial role – the Pink Chaddi Campaign and India Against Corruption. The primary reason for choosing these cases was that:

- a) They were pioneers in technology adoption;
- b) High visibility of these two cases provided an opportunity for expanded data collection, allowing cross-checking between sources and reducing risks of local bias;
- c) Enough evidence has been available to explore the new practices and their impact on the society. India being a vast country both geographically and population wise, it is quite challenging to acquire a diversified sampling for adequate representation.

While choosing my cases; there was a choice of doing small studies of a large number of cases or attempting a smaller number of cases in more depth. After careful consideration, a decision has been made to study selective cases in depth, to understand the key aspects in sufficient details.

India Against Corruption (IAC) is regarded as one of the biggest social movements in India, and the Pink Chaddi campaign is considered among the forerunners of the extensive use of technology for social activism. The period chosen for study, beginning in 2009, coincided with the steep growth in the Indian telecom sector and Internet penetration. In India, the number of mobile phone users has increased from 50 million²⁸ in 2005 to 900 million²⁹ In 2011. Similarly, the Internet

²⁸ 50.7 million mobile users in India, Rediff report, (retrieved in May 2012)
<http://www.rediff.com/money/2005/mar/09mobile1.htm>

users have peaked from 25 million³⁰ in 2004 to 121 million³¹ In 2011. While narrowing down the selection, some diversity of cases was sought in terms of the:

- a) demographic base,
- b) diversity of communications,
- c) issues represented, and
- d) impact that the groups have created.

Though it was understood that the basis of choice could be a limiting factor when one is trying to address a complex issue. Large scale surveys are useful regarding producing large volumes of information, and thus the base for true generalisation about a phenomenon that is already well delineated. The case study was chosen, and suitable research method has selected that match the exploratory nature of the study. The samples of the cases have different span instances in the taxonomy of groups.

Interview-based studies involving a select number of respondents are becoming more common in the Social Sciences (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006) (p.484).

Qualitative enquiries have typically focused on in-depth studies of relatively small samples of respondents, even when single cases have been selected purposefully (Patton, 1990, 2002). Some researchers suggest that a sample of six to a maximum

²⁹ How many mobile users are active, Business Line report, (retrieve in May 2012)

http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/features/investment-world/article2723734.ece?homepage=true&ref=wl_home

³⁰ India's internet users spiked in '05, Clickz, (retrieved in May 2012)

<http://www.clickz.com/clickz/news/1717847/indias-internet-users-spiked-05>

³¹ 121 million internet users in 2011: Report, Times of India, (retrieved in May 2012)

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/tech/news/internet/121m-internet-users-in-India-by-2011-end-Report/articleshow/10641973.cms>

of ten is optimal for a qualitative study (Creswell et al., 2003; Giorgi, 2009; Spiegelberg, 1994). Creswell and Clark (2007), recommends a sample size of 3 to 10 respondents. Considering the size of the groups to study and their diversified nature, the detailed interviews were conducted with 43 individuals (30 for India Against Corruption (IAC) and 13 for the Pink Chaddi Campaign).

A purposeful sampling strategy has been adopted to select respondents for the study. Patton (2002, 2005), encourages selecting respondents purposefully, to obtain in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Scholars recommend that such participants should be the individuals whose perspectives or experiences would represent best the diverse landscape of the social and cultural settings and provide the researcher with an opportunity to gain in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study (Berg, 2004; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Patton, 2002; Saldaña, 2012).

Merriam (1998), states that "purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand and gain insight, therefore, one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most" (p.48). Patton (2002), says that purposeful sampling is the process whereby a researcher selects the respondents due to characteristics or when he/she wants to contact a particular group of people. According to Patton (2002), purposeful sampling provides the advantage of gathering rich information and minimises differences in sampling. Patton (2002), further gives the hint that purposeful sampling has some inherent weaknesses. For instance, makes it difficult to draw strong inferences or conclusions from the samples. This hint notwithstanding, and given the wide geographic spread of the study, purposeful sampling is the ideal for this study.

As the respondents for this study, I have selected the leaders of social activist groups, managers of the social media entities, external experts, common activists and collaborators. The respondents were interviewed in detailed, and their claims have been cross-verified against the other interviews or validated by the available secondary data. Interviewees have also shared their knowledge and experience of the concept and practices of using technology in the social activism to provide fruitful answers and responses. The breakdown of respondents is presented in the table below for both the Pink Chaddi campaign and India Against Corruption (IAC):

Table 4.2.2a: Respondents for The Pink Chaddi Campaign

Sno.	Name of Person	Brief Profile and their Role in the campaign
1.	Nisha Susan	Nisha was the founder of the Pink Chaddi campaign.
2.	Samir Gandhi	Samir was one of the initial contributors to the campaign. He played a vital role in bringing the campaign to its logical conclusion.
3.	Vivek Nityananda	One of the key organiser of the campaign
4.	Nithin Mayanth	Nithin is Nisha's friend, who was involved in the campaign since the beginning. His phone number was put on the Facebook page
5.	Pratibha C	City coordinator for Mumbai. She organised the volunteers to support the collections
6	Shalini Mehta	Offered the place for collection in Mumbai
7	Nishant Shah	Volunteered as an activist

8	Kunal Sharma	Facebook contributor and volunteered for the collection
9	Siddharth Gupta	Volunteered as an online and offline activist
10	Valmiki Naik	Volunteer in Mumbai, responsible for collections and parcels
11	Rashi Kelkar	Rashi was the student in Mumbai. She participated by sending parcels.
12	Priyamvada Chitnis	Activist. Participated in the online and offline activities.
13	Saurabhi Kumar	Mainly participated online and in promoting the cause through the mobile network.

Table 4.2.2b: Respondents for India Against Corruption

Sno.	Name of Person	Brief Profile and their Role in the campaign
1	Suresh Phatare	A key aide of Mr Anna Hazare, he has participated in the movement since the beginning.
2	Dada Phatare	Personal assistant to Anna Hazare. Was coordinating his diary and participated in the movement.
3	Dr Kiran Bedi	Former police officer. NGO Activist and founding leader of IAC.
4	Saurabh Singh	Was supporting the movement. He has his own Facebook page “Growing India, Growing Ourselves” that was the 2nd largest Facebook page in India in 2010 after IAC.

5	Nishant Agarwal	Student Activist and volunteer.
6	Shivendra Singh Chauhan	Coordinator of the Facebook campaign. He was responsible for starting the Facebook page and conceptualising social media strategy.
7	Anna Hazare	Founder and the 'main-face' of the movement.
8	Anonymous	Activist. He supported the movement using anonymous identity. He didn't give his consent for publishing his name as a part of my thesis.
9	Cyril Gupta	He was responsible for setting up IAC website
10	Sanjay Borkar	He was the manager of a personal website of Mr Anna Hazare.
11	Shweta Saxena	Housewife and Activist. She was the admin for one of the support Facebook pages for the movement.
12	Santosh Sinde	Partner of Sanjay Borkar. He has participated in the movement as an activist.
13	Nana Saheb	Was part of Anna Hazare's team based in Ralegoan Siddhi
14	Raut	Key aide of Mr Anna Hazare
15	Sarpanch	Head of the local government at Ralegoan Siddhi village, home of Mr Hazare.
16	Sheikh Mohammad Zaid	Was the admin of the city specific page and an active participant in the movement.
17	Vir Dewan	Online activist. Have participated in the main rallies but

		was more active online than offline.
18	Chitra Padsalgi	She was leading both online and offline protests in NewYork city.
19	Tarang Chandra	Based in Dubai, she was involved in the online protests after witnessing media reports.
20	Avinash Pant	Vice President, Netcore Technologies. Responsible for managing the database and handling missed calls.
21	Abhishek	Manager, Netcore Technologies.
22	Rakhee Garg	Activist working at Saurabh Singh's office
23	Ashwin Bhole	An activist based at Jalgaon, Maharastra.
24	Kapil Mishra	A key aide of Arvind Kejriwal. Now a minister in Delhi government.
25	Rajesh Jain	Founder, Netcore Technologies
26	Deepak Barodia	Businessman, activist and City Coordinator for IAC in Pune.
27	Nagendra Chindam	Social Activist based in London
28	Monish Ali	Activist based in Delhi
29	Geeta Devi	Housemaid at Shweta Saxena house. Also an Activist
30	Vivek Satya Mitram	Journalist

I have faced a challenge while identifying the right set of people for the interview, since the social movements took place few years back during the period of 2009-2012. Given the movements were national (and even international), it was difficult to track people in different cities and different geographies given the limited time frame

of the PhD. Therefore, I used the snowball sampling as suggested by (Patton, 2002) to ease data collection. Finding the top-leaders who lead the campaign was easy, I asked them to recommend individuals who have in-depth knowledge about the case and cross-checked with others about their participation, thus exploring networks of networks. Among several recommended potential interviewees, I prepared my own list to develop a final list of the interviewees, those can give me informative interviews. I have contacted many potential interviewees but some of them never responded. In that case, I referred to my list again to contact next one on the list. The final interviews were also dependent on the availability of the interviewees, access to them (either by face-to-face or by skype) and their level of participation in the social movement.

4.2.4 Research Biases

While conducting any study, a researcher has to be conscious about its sampling biases, particularly as related to the technology inclusiveness and the choice of cases. A scholar should be aware that it may be difficult to eliminate the bias, but there are methods and ways to check it.

"Under coverage" is a sampling error that can occur while covering the online population. Under-coverage happens when the target population is not represented or under-represented in the interviews. The under-coverage happens because not everybody has an internet connection (Bethlehem, 2007, 2008) or they might not have a mobile phone, yet they could be quite proactive. Further, the respondents were "purposefully" selected; therefore, the sample size was limited only to the respondents considered to be appropriate for the study.

In this study, I have anticipated the self-selection and exclusion bias while selecting the population from the online community. Self-selection may happen during the online investigation where atypical individuals may offer to participate in the study, which may sometimes make it difficult to determine causation. Also, another underlying bias is in "the way questions are framed and asked" to the interviewee. In quantitative research, some weighting techniques (like propensity weighting) can help to reduce the bias (Bethlehem, 2008). While doing the qualitative research, authors such as (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008) suggests creative interviewing as methods to reduce the bias.

In preparation for this study, I have attended a workshop "*Doing research in Edgy/illicit settings*" conducted by Dr Angus Bancroft, Dy Director Graduate School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Edinburgh. One of the themes discussed during the workshop was sampling biases. Dr Angus shared various examples on creating a diversified sampling and reducing the bias. His feedback has helped in developing a vibrant and diversified sample.

To illustrate an example of how I was able to construct the diversified sample: During an interview, I came across two similar status groups of people referring to each other, such as when core committee members of a social activist group give references for other core committee members. In the case of a common on-the-ground activist, he/she has no access to the high-up leaders; therefore, he/she could only give references to other common activists. To overcome this problem, scholars have used snowball sampling method – where references are provided by the interviewee for the next individual.

I was conscious of the trade-off between studying a wide variety of cases versus an in-depth study of a fewer numbers of cases. Addressing a wide variety of cases would be useful to effectively capture the diversity of groups and practices and provide an evidence base from which one may generalise the findings over a wider spectrum. However, the challenge of including a substantial number of groups in the sample is that the researcher might not have the time and other resources required to conduct detailed examinations of the individual cases. *The intensive* approach was selected, i.e., choosing fewer cases and conducting an in-depth study/analysis.

4.2.4 Data Collection Procedures

In surveying activist communities, issues arise related to defining the boundaries within and around the community and which actors should be surveyed. Personal and professional contacts were explored to gain access to the activist communities and actors. This research is focused on the appropriation of technology; therefore, contacts have been made to the people who have access to the technology or who have used the technology in some specific ways.

Kozinets (2009) provides insights on the actors in the online medium. He suggests that there are four types of actors in online communities who are distinguished from each other - newbies, minglers, devotees and insiders. (Bowler, 2010), in his paper characterises these actors - **Newbies** lack strong social tie to the group and maintain a bird's eye view of discussions. **Minglers** maintain strong social ties but are only perfunctorily interested in the central consumption activity. **Devotees** maintain an active interest in the consumption activity but have a few social attachments to the group. Finally, **Insiders** have strong social ties to the group and maintain a strong interest in the central consumption activity.

Though a parallel can be drawn between the online communities and social activist groups using technology as the main protest medium, the fundamental differences between the marketing and political perspectives are that in this project we are also interested in the non-adopters, even though the marketers may be willing to just ignore them. Bowler (2010) says that the devotees and insiders are the most involved, enthusiastic and sophisticated. They have the understanding of the issues, and they are the key influencers. Hence, they are the most important data source for the researchers. A sample was adequately planned and prepared to involve all the actors, and interview questions were designed to extract the most relevant information.

Kozinets (2009), has suggested constructive methods to collect and authenticate the data. Two of the most relevant ones for this research are:

- **Archive:** - Online archives of the computer-mediated communication of the communities/groups - Online archives are probably the most authentic source of information available. The archived data, such as Facebook posts, blog posts, and comments on various news websites, had provided an opportunity to understand the events as and when they had happened. The data could be in the form of intragroup communications, public discourses or comments made by the external members on the activities of the group. The actions and reactions of the members could have been duly recorded in the inter-group communications. These inter-group communications were being useful to gauge the "spirit" of the movement.
- **Field notes (interviews):** data the researcher sketches as field notes - Field notes were based upon the observational, interview and reflective records.

Members of the groups were geographically distributed (in India, as well as abroad); it would be impossible to meet everybody; therefore, some of the interviews were done using the online medium (over Skype) and the rest of them were done offline (face-to-face). The Skype and face-to-face interviews were recorded and transcribed in English (many interviews were done in the vernacular language). For the English transcription of the interview, external paid assistance was engaged. The main benefit of a face-to-face interview is to capture the non-verbal elements of the conversation, which could be crucial to understanding the context.

One of the key challenges during the transcription was understanding the local language. The principal language used was a mix of Hindi and English (in India jokingly referred to as *Hinglish*); in some cases, the third language was also used, such as Marathi. There were many actors who didn't use online communities or, for various reasons, didn't have a capacity to use the computer system (i.e., handicap, illiteracy, availability of resources, etc.) or did not use the online communities often. They were indirect users/participants of the core groups, having received a forwarded message in an email or as a text on the phone; OR they had been influenced by their active online friends.

Semi-structured, creative interview methods (Douglas, 1985) were used for deeper conversations. 'Snowball sampling' was commissioned to seek the references, by asking the interviewers to provide introductions to the people that could share their experiences. These face-to-face interviews have provided an opportunity to understand the context, behaviour, approach and environmental

factors in detail. To spread the diversity and inclusiveness during the data collection, balancing of participation from all demographic segments had been done.

The stakeholders are defined as the individuals who were active members, coordinators, outside supporters, watchers and who were influenced by the group's ideology. The stakeholders also included the people from the civil administration, who have not participated in the activism themselves but who were the targets of the campaign. The civil administration could be on the receiving end in many cases; however, their observation would be critical and needed to be recorded to understand the overall impact.

The interviews with the stakeholders had assisted in understanding the appropriation of technology and its impact on the social practices in a wider context of the society. A combination of methods was used to capture the information that has addressed the research questions. For instance, there were sets of users that had participated in the group activities a few years back and had actively written contributions to the discussion threads. It was imperative to understand their motivation and what challenges they have faced during that time. The combination of various methods had provided a well-rounded perspective of the situation and helped incorrect interpretations.

To deeply understand the social world from the researcher's viewpoint, there is a need to collect the evidence to document the patterns, categories and meanings that individuals have created (Saldana, 2011). Patton (2002), delineates three types of data collection in the qualitative research process, as direct observation, written documents and in-depth, open-ended interviews. Campbell & Fiske (1959) advocate

the use of more than one data collection method, referred to as triangulation, in investigating a single concept or phenomenon to ensure that the variance reflects the trait rather than the method. Data triangulation involves the use of different sources of information and cross verification from two or more sources, to increase the validity of a study. In particular, triangulation refers to the combination of several research methodologies in a study of the same phenomenon (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; Denzin, 2006; O'donoghue & Punch, 2003).

According to Berg (2004), many researchers limit triangulation to the use of multiple data-gathering techniques, to study the same phenomenon to validate findings and confirm measures. Fielding & Fielding (1986), suggest that triangulation is not only combination of multiple data, but rather a means of mitigating the weaknesses to ensure validity associated with each technique. Patton (2002), however, sees data triangulation as a means to uncover deeper meaning in the data. To gain deeper meaning and ensure that accounts are rich, robust and comprehensive, interviews and document analysis were to be used in data collection for the study.

4.2.5 Case Study Method

The scholar has adopted a comparative case study approach that is a descriptive, exploratory or explanatory analysis of a group. "Case studies are the analysis of persons, events, decisions, periods, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more method. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame - an object - within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates" (Thomas, 2011) (p511-521).

Two key case studies were developed to highlight and support the empirical arguments of appropriation of technology by social activists in India:

1. India Against Corruption
2. The Pink Chaddi Campaign

The Pink Chaddi Campaign is considered as the “pioneer” case that has used new media tools successfully for the social activism. India Against Corruption movement was one of the biggest mobilisations of people in this century, where technology has played a vital role. Both these cases have given us an excellent opportunity for in-depth understanding of the core issues and processes as social activists appropriate technology and how new practices have emerged as the result of the appropriation. The Pink Chaddi Campaign and IAC cases were also chosen because both of the cases were foremost in the new technology use in a developing country.

Secondly, enough evidence was available for a realistic inquiry. Thirdly, the stories associated with the cases can be used for empirical social research. The scholar was able to "soak and poke" (Fenno Jr, 1986), as the cases were able to offer well-reasoned lines of explanation based on the rich knowledge of local settings and circumstances. The case study approach has provided an opportunity to comprehend and empirically test the research questions.

Yin (1994) notes that a number of critiques have been traditionally advanced against case studies - a) cases lacks rigour b) concerns over generalisability c) Cases are too long and results are massive unreadable documents d) Data collection procedures are not routinised. Yin (1994) suggests further that these

criticisms are unfounded as cases relies on multiple source of evidence and benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions. Case studies cope better than quantitative methods with novel social and technical developments and complex contexts, with many more variables of interest than data points (Yin, 1994, 2008).

In addition to the above descriptive case studies, secondary data was studied that was related to other groups that have extensively used the new media and technology for their purpose. Reading other cases has given an opportunity to understand the expanse and impact of technology platforms used for social activism in India.

4.2.6 Interviews

Surveys and interviews are two popular methods used by social scientists to understand the phenomenon of online and offline activism and affordance of technology in STS (Ganesh & Stohl, 2010; Harlow & Harp, 2012; A. Rao & Dutta, 2017; Van Laer, 2010). Survey method is focused upon who, what, where, how many and how much related research questions (Yin, 1994). It also provides an overview of the situation rather than specific questions related to phenomenon of technology affordance. Therefore, creative interview (Douglas, 1985) method was used, as it allowed me to seek in-depth responses. As mentioned in section 4.2.3, the movement took place few years back. It was difficult to track the respondents fitting for the characteristics (Patton, 2002) of the target sample population. Though it was easy to track the leaders of the group because of their popularity and visibility, however, for in-depth study, it is important to seek responses from much wider population. Hence, I have used snowball sampling (Patton, 2002) for the data collection to identify the hard-to-reach activists. According to Atkinson and Flint

(2001), "Snowball sampling is used most frequently to conduct qualitative research, primarily through interviews" (p2).

Adams, Khan, Raeside, & White (2007), states that any researcher who adopts a qualitative approach must well engage in an in-depth research interview. According to Saldaña (2012), most researchers adopt the interview method which is a very effective means of obtaining and documenting respondents' world view, feelings, values, opinions, attitudes and beliefs in their own words about their experiences. Qualitative interviewing projects describe social and political processes (Rubin & Rubin, 2011), that's why they have to deal in the special way, unlike quantitative projects. Weiss (1994), espouses cogent reasons for conducting interviews because they develop detailed descriptions and because researchers need to learn as much as they can about events in which they did not participate.

Interviews are accepted among researchers as one among the most frequently used qualitative approaches through which data is collected (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Lee & Lings, 2008; Moustakas, 1994). Through interviews, individuals share their stories, and their voices can be heard. Typically, in a phenomenological investigation, a one-to-one in-depth interview is the method through which data is collected on the topic (Moustakas, 1994; Quinlan, 2011). "It is through the interview process that the researcher seeks to listen to the participants and build an understanding based on their ideas" (Creswell et al., 2003) (p. 30). As Glesne and Peshkin, (1999) has put it, qualitative interviewing enables researchers to determine the culture, values and social life of their respondents and to appreciate issues that confront them.

According to Berg (2004), interviewing may be defined as a conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information. However, Denzin (2001), argues that interviews should be more than a mere information gathering process. In particular, Denzin (2001) states, "I want to re-read the interview, not as the method of gathering information, but as a vehicle for producing performance texts and performance ethnographies about self and society (p. 24)".

For this research, each of the participants was interviewed based on the adopted open-ended interview guide. The purpose of the open-ended interview questions is to collect first-hand and salient information and views of the respondents without presupposing the information. On average, the engagement with each of the respondents in an in-depth interview was from forty-five minutes to one hour.

Furthermore, inspiration was drawn by the Berg's (2004: 110-111). 'ten commandments of interviewing' as a guide during the interview process (Berg, 2004). These ten steps are:

- 1.Never begin an interview cold;
- 2.Remember your purpose;
- 3.Present a natural front;
- 4.Demonstrate aware hearing;
- 5.Think about appearance;
- 6.Interview in a comfortable place;
- 7.Don't be satisfied with the monosyllable answers;
- 8.Be respectful;
- 9.Practice, practice, and practice some more

10.Be cordial and appreciative).

The 'Ten Commandments' have helped to frame the interview topics and structure the interview processes.

Topics for the Interview:

In this section, topics for the interview and list of potential questions have been provided. The topics and questions were designed to capture responses regarding three areas discussed as a part of the research. This inquiry is to examine appropriation of technology and new media/tools, shaping the particular context, and the effect on the pluralistic structure of the group/society:

Table 4.2.6: Topic Guide/Questions for the Interview

Topic Guide	Questions for the interview
Questions to capture the information about the interviewee	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Please give your name, age, gender and location.b. Could you briefly describe the group(s) you are affiliated with?c. Explain your position in the group.
Appropriation of technology and new media/tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. What kind of media tools and technology do you use to communicate with other members of your group?b. How often do you use them (several times in a day, few times in a week or few times in a month)?c. Could you please elaborate on how these tools help you in collaborative effectively with your colleagues/members in the group?d. Once you get the response from a colleague, what is

	<p>your next step?</p> <p>e. What are the key challenges you are facing while using these tools?</p> <p>f. Do you think the usage of these tools and technologies is helping you in creating impact and better communication?</p> <p>g. How has the communication strategy provided the distinct advantage for the group?</p>
Shaping the particular context	<p>a. We know about missed call being used as a method to communicate with the members of the group. What are other alternative ways of using the technology tools by the members and activists?</p> <p>b. How are these alternative affordances different from each other?</p> <p>c. In your opinion, what are the linkages between different technology/tools usages?</p> <p>d. Do you think there are new practices, like socio-cultural arising due to the usage of the different technology methods? Could you give other examples?</p> <p>e. How are these practices taking shape? What are the relationships and linkages?</p>
Effect on structure of the group/society	<p>a. How are the technologies affecting the organisational structure of the group?</p> <p>b. Do you observe more democratisation of the group after using technologies?</p> <p>c. Please share your opinion on the impact of technology on the society.?</p>

	<p>d. How is a structure of the society affected by the use of technologies?</p> <p>e. What are the problems that may come due to the change in the structure? Do you propose any new solutions?</p>
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Digital recorders were used to facilitate the recording of the interviews without disrupting the flow of conversation. Another benefit of digital recording is that audio files could be played back, to gain further insights and to understand the "context" and "tone" of the conversations. The recorded interviews were further transcribed in English using standard transcription tools, such as F5 transcription software, which is user-friendly and popular among the social scientists.

Creative interviewing methods were followed for an informal, interactive process with the help of open-ended comments and questions. General interview protocols, comprising questions and issues that should be covered during the interview sessions, were also followed.

The primary vision was drawn from the Berg's interview guide, to gain comprehensive insights in a short time; for instance, the first appropriate rapport was built with the participants (by sending them to advance emails and having explained the purpose of the research in suitable details), to make them comfortable. Creswell (2007) suggested that research questions must be constructed in a way to keep respondents on focus. During the interview, respondents were kept focused by engaging their attention through the follow-up questions.

Creswell (2003) suggested that "qualitative research takes place in the natural settings, and the researcher often goes to the site (home, office) of the participant to conduct research." In this connection, the interviews for the purpose of this study have been carried out in the participants' offices or places of convenience. This has also given me an opportunity to engage in the actual experiences of the participants. Being in a direct contact with the participants, the scholar was able to capture authentic data and meaningful personal experiences of the participants (Sun, 2009). Probing questions were posed to get more information when participants decided to provide monosyllabic answers.

In the phenomenological studies, it is important that the investigator refrains from making assumptions; instead, he has to focus on a particular topic freshly and openly, constructing a question or problem to guide the study and to obtain findings that could provide the basis for further research and reflections (Moustakas, 1994). Also, Moustakas (1994) advises that a researcher who adopts a transcendental phenomenological approach should also embark on disciplined and systematic efforts to set aside prejudgments as far as the phenomenon under investigation is concerned, to make the study free from presumptions, beliefs and prior knowledge of the phenomenon.

The researcher has to be completely open, receptive, and even naive in listening to and hearing from the research participants, as they describe their experiences of the phenomenon being investigated. This is termed as the "Epoche" process. Although according to Moustakas (1994), "Phenomenology is concerned with ideas and essences, there is no denial of the world of nature, the so-called real world." (p.

46). Every bit of evidence, therefore, is considered valuable to the study (Cherniss, Extein, Goleman, & Weissberg, 2006).

4.2.7 Secondary data

Secondary data are in the form of existing documents related to the appropriation of technology, use of social media by social activists, blogs entries, online interactions and videos. The success of social activism is not just based on the leadership, but a significant contribution to their success could be attributed to the effective governance structures that are consistent with their aims, objectives and culture. Consequently, this study has explored the congruence between the governance structures (organisation structure) and their aims and objectives, as well as the culture (including technology culture) of the social activist's groups, by analysing secondary data, including data archives.

This documentation enables a researcher to systematically and credibly examine, extract and construct from the complexity of living its essences and essentials, to exist in a better world (Adams et al., 2007; Saldaña, 2012). Saldaña, (2012) advised that in consultation with the respondents, the researcher should, with the permission of the respondent, look for and review any documents that are publicly accessible. Adams et al. (2007), also hinted that “in collecting secondary data, remember to PROD, i.e., Plan, Read, Observe and Document.” (p.118)

With these tips, I had planned in advance and was very observant, to be able to take note of documents that would be of importance to the study. During this research, wherever necessary, I have sought permissions from the relevant authorities to review documentation that would-be inference-laden or particularly

striking and, where possible, keep copies as a part of the data corpus for future reference and analysis (Saldaña, 2012).

4.2.8 Credibility and Utility

Qualitative research is often concerned with the credibility and utility (Sun, 2009). Johnson (1997) ascertains the qualitative research is concerned with the credibility, trustworthiness and defensibility. Triangulation, peer-reviews and member checking enhance the rigour of the methods (Saldaña, 2012; Sun, 2009).

Data triangulation was used by conducting interviews and reviews of the existing data by the social activists on the concept of technology appropriation. To maintain the authenticity, claims made by the interviewee were cross-checked with other data sources (primary and secondary). This has assisted me in unearthing the rich information, to facilitate the in-depth understanding of the technology appropriation by the social activists from the worldview of the participants, and to build confidence in the findings (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Patton, 2002).

Slevitch (2011) adds that in the qualitative research, truth can be achieved to the extent that a researcher's statements agree with participants' interpretation of realities. Its utility has to do with the value that the study has added to the body of knowledge. The scholar should communicate individual textural-structural descriptions of the experience to the participants, requesting each participant to carefully check whether information captured about the description of their experiences would agree with their lived experiences. This way, an accurate expression of the participants' worldview and actual meanings of their experiences about the usage of technology for social activism could be revealed, and this

meticulous process would encourage to produce accurate results to the users or readers of the research reports.

4.2.9 Data Sources, Rights of the Participants and the Legal issues

Creswell & Clark (2007) advises that a written consent of the participants must be sought in the phenomenological studies in which the subjects include individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. Adams et al. (2007) also say that when collecting research data in business and management, talking to people becomes necessary. In this regard, before the data collection exercise, I have obtained a written permission or informed consent from each of the participants to conduct the interviews. Barring one interviewee, all others have agreed to publish his or her name as a part of the thesis.

Following the advice of Creswell and Clark (2007), the I have prepared a consent note comprising specific issues, such as the right of the participants to voluntarily withdraw from the study at any time; explaining the purpose of the inquiry and the interview process assuring participants that their confidentiality was secured; a statement about any known risks involving participants in the study and a signature of the participant. Since the data was coming from different sources (archival, elicited and field notes); I have used various tools for data recording. The archival and elicited data were interpreted using the software tools such as NVIVO. Field notes/interview data were transcribed in the text format using standard transcription tools, such as F5. The data sources were to be kept anonymous unless informed consent was sought from the interviewee.

In this research, the majority of interviewees have given their consent to publish their names. The primary reason of giving consent is that since the social movement is over, and there is no repercussion politically or socially for the interviewees in the future. In fact, the majority of them were very proud to have participated in a social movement, having done something valuable for the society. Before the interviews, the respondents were contacted through the email to explain them the purpose of the research and project description to seek their consent. Sources who were unavailable to give their consent (such as those that have participated in the online threads and who cannot be contacted) were recorded as anonymous sources.

University of Edinburgh ethical research guidelines (Annexure-1) were properly complied with. Besides, the supervisors were duly informed from time to time about the progress made in the data collection. Interview transcripts were shared with the supervisors to read and make comments.

Treating participants with the utmost respect is of importance in data collection (Berg, 2004; Seidman, 2013; Seidman, Rubin, Rubin, & Patrick, 2004). In this regard, I have ensured to demonstrate respect to the participants by showing common courtesies in the Indian culture, such as not sitting until the participants offer a seat, offering the appropriate non-verbal responses and, above all, letting them know they form an integral part of the study and their answers are vital. At the end of the interview, I have always expressed appreciation to the participants for their time and responses, bearing in mind Berg's advice that the researcher is a research emissary (Berg, 2004).

4.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The next stage of qualitative data analysis after transcribing is coding and developing category systems. It is at this stage that the researcher carefully reads the transcribed data, line by line, and divides the data into meaningful analytical units, referred to as segments. Any meaningful segment located has to be coded (Bazeley, 2009; Berg, 2004; Moustakas, 1994; Thomas, 2003). Drawing from these researchers, I have carefully read the data after transcribing and segmented them, by dividing it into meaningful analytical units and then grouping them according to the identified themes.

Phenomenological studies are usually applied to develop experiences and understanding of the realities of the respondents. To reconstruct this reality, the type of analysis used often emerges from the data collected (Creswell & Clark, 2007). Qualitative studies often involve complex forms of analysis. Usually, qualitative analysis may occur through the theoretical framework or the development of categories, to explain the information that emerges from the field (Yin, 1994).

Analysis of the qualitative research, like any other research, involves categorising and recombining evidence, to make the material clearer and more distinct, without losing the depth of the information to be collected. The major strategies that the researcher used to analyse the data were the development of a typology for the classification and the use of a theoretical framework for the analysis.

The emergent themes were coded. It is worth noting that the coding and the development of topics is an iterative process that began during the fieldwork. I have also coded the other documents and interviews, comparing the two sources of data. Moustakas (1994) has given steps that researcher should adopt in the phenomenological method of data analysis that includes:

Step 1: **Horizontalisation:** Horizontalisation of the data was done by developing a list of significant statements about how respondents have experienced usage of technology in the social activism. Each statement was treated as having equal worth. Here I continued to create a list of the non-overlapping statements.

Step 2: **Clustering Meanings:** The significant statements were grouped into larger units of information based on the emerging themes.

Step 3: **Describing textures of the experiences:** At this stage, I wrote a description of what the participants have experienced with the appropriation of technology, including verbatim examples.

Step 4: **Description of structures of experience/imaginative variations:** At this stage, a description of structures of experiences of how new practices emerged as a result of the appropriation of technology has been developed, with the researcher reflecting on the setting and context in which the phenomenon of usage of technology was experienced by the respondents.

Step 5: **Constructing a textural-structural description and textural-structural synthesis:** Finally, the I have developed a composite definition of the appropriation of technology by social activists, by combining both the textural and structural descriptions. It contained information for the readers about what the respondents experienced with the new practices and how they imbibed them.

4.3.1 Analysis Procedure

Unlike the quantitative data analysis that is numeric and (in principle at least) follows a well-defined sequence of moves, qualitative data analyses are iterative, reflective, fluid, and an ongoing process as the data collection proceeds (Creswell &

Clark, 2007). This fluidity and iterative nature of the qualitative data, therefore, requires doing the analysis alongside the data collection process. Data analysis was done in the two main stages:

Stage 1: At this stage, the researcher began to interact with the interview data collected. In the course of the interview data collection, I took the time to listen to and also transcribed the data from the digital recorder, and I tried to make sense of what the respondents had said. It involved identifying:

1. Major themes that were emerging from the respondents' answers;
2. How various themes interrelate, and providing a clearer and deeper understanding of the issues of concern to the study;
3. Whether the details respondents were providing were adequate and ensured a strong enough evidence base for further analyses. This analytic approach helped to determine whether a second or even third interview should be conducted with the respondents, to confirm, expand or amplify ideas expressed by the respondents.
4. Some new original insights, without the earlier thoughts of which have emerged, might require further secondary data search or additional interviews with selected or all respondents. I.e., that had been realised when new insights offered enough ground to do further probing, to arrive at the new trajectories for the studies.
5. Also, this iterative analytical approach assisted in determining any relationship between the settings, within which individuals experienced the STS phenomenon under this study, and which supported identifying significant issues raised to merit further interviews.

Stage 2: This second stage of the analysis mixed and validated data that was collected from the in-depth interviews and the secondary data from the available

documents, using triangulation technique. It adopted the five-stage analytic procedure recommended by Creswell and Clark (2007), as follows:

1. Documentation of the data and the process of data collection.
2. Organisation/categorization of the data into concepts.
3. The connection of the data to show the relationship between one concept or theme and another and how they may influence each other.
4. Corroboration/legitimization, by evaluating alternative explanation, disconfirming evidence for negative cases.
5. Reporting the findings.

The data analysis is done using the IS interpretative research method as proposed by (Walsham, 2006). Interpretative research talks about "reading between the lines" while analysing the data. Whilst doing the analysis, Walsham (2006) and Kozinets (2009) advised the researcher to bracket him out in the analysis-- that is, to let respondents tell their story, not yours as the researcher. According to Kozinets (2009), analysis and interpretation involve classification, coding analysis and contextualization of communicative acts. Kozinets presents the following principles of analysing qualitative data:

- Proceed systematically and rigorously (minimise human error)
- Record process, memos, journals, etc.
- Focus on responding to research questions
- Appropriate level of interpretation appropriate for situation
- Time (process of inquiry and analysis are often simultaneous)
- Seek to explain or enlighten
- Evolutionary/emerging

I have used some software to churn out large dataset coming out from social media and new media. There are many Computationally Assisted Data Analysis (CADA) programs available to analyse datasets. Package software like NVIVO and Atlas-ti are popular among sociology researchers.

Given the functionality, ease-of-use and training support available at the University of Edinburgh; NVIVO was used for qualitative data analysis. The purpose of using the software application is to comprehend large qualitative data sets in a short time window.

For the purpose of this research, any quantitative data with the tagged/coded data was not used. The selected software has assisted in analysing large qualitative, as well as quantitative datasets, including images, video, audio, quotation, blog, reports and discussion forums. The software allowed to hyperlink other documents and create annotations/remarks. The NVIVO software is widely used by the researchers across the world and majority of them have given excellent reviews.

The next stage of qualitative data analysis after transcribing is coding and developing category systems. At this phase, the researcher carefully reads the transcribed data, line by line, and divides the data into meaningful analytical units, referred to as segments. Any meaningful segment located is coded (Bazeley, 2009; Berg, 2004; Moustakas, 1994; Thomas, 2003). Drawing from the above tools, I have carefully read the data after transcribing, and segmented the data by dividing it among meaningful analytical units, then group them according to the main themes identified. Interview transcripts and other secondary data were shared with the supervisors for the “shared reading”, with the goal of interactive understanding and

discussions. Further, it was discussed in details with supervisors during the supervision meetings, and adequate guidance was taken.

4.3.2 Data Analysis

For this inquiry, two social activism cases from India – the Pink Chaddi and IAC have been studied. Forty-three one-to-one semi-structured interviews have been conducted, to gather primarily empirical data. Secondary sources were examined in details to check the claims made in the interviews.

Starks & Trinidad (2007) have discussed three major qualitative approaches for the analysis of data and highlighted their comparative merits and demerits:

- 1) Phenomenology;
- 2) Discourse Analysis;
- 3) Grounded theory

. A phenomenological approach was chosen that is applicable for developing experiences and understanding of the realities of the respondents.

To reconstruct this reality, the type of analysis used often emerges from the data collected (Creswell, 2007), although it shall be noted that the grounded theory may be more suitable for highlighting comparative merits and demerits. To the contrary, the phenomenology may not be more appropriate for the large data sets from the use of multiple research methods and the grounded theory is not appropriate for the STS discipline, which is boundary-less.

In this situation, MacQueen & Namey (2012) came to the rescue of the research methodology, as they suggest to use Applied Thematic Analysis (ATA), which

"comprises of a bit of everything – grounded theory, positivism, interpretivism and phenomenology – synthesised into the methodological framework". Balogun & Johnson (2005) have emphasised for the use of first order and second order coding to understand the findings of "how and why the many interlinked change consequences arose", most importantly in the cases where second order findings are dependent upon first order findings. This approach looks appropriate for the current research methodology; therefore, Applied Thematic Analysis (ATA) has been used as a technique for coding the data.

4.4 Strengths and Weakness of the Research Design

This research is leading to a PhD degree at the University of Edinburgh. The PhD requirements have a stipulated time frame for the fieldwork, writing of thesis and discussions.

Due to the limited timeframe of this study, I have chosen it not be longitudinal. The research has investigated multiple groups that have been selected by their impact on the critical issue, geographic spread covered, demographic representation and the type of technology used. We do recognise that the research coverage could have been more widespread, to understand the impact of the technology usage and the role of single-issue groups. However, considering the limitations of the time and money resources, the research design has been prepared to support the stated research objectives.

Table 4.4: Factors affecting choice of Qualitative and Quantitative research methods

	Limitation of Quantitative and Qualitative Research	Consideration in Thesis
Time Frame	1. Qualitative research may be longitudinal and may not have a specific timeframe, as it may involve repeated observations	Considering the selected time frame, a multiple case study method has been chosen
Data Constraints	2. Quantitative studies are not possible when there is an inability to establish necessary research conditions, unavailability of data and insufficient response rate from the sample	A Qualitative study has been chosen, with a preliminary study of evidence from secondary sources for availability of data.
Cost and resources	Original data is geographically spread and unavailable through a single platform	Low cost and resource is required for Multiple case studies
Bias in understanding and analysis	Qualitative methods suffer from bias based on researcher's understanding. It further presents difficulties in the analysis of vast amount of qualitative data, whereas quantitative data is easier to analyse.	I coded/tagged the data, to demonstrate that the data is drawn systematically from the heterogeneous data sources to overcome the bias. Single issue group were analysed in depth with more meaningful insights and compelling and powerful arguments, regarding how they are formed, as well as the analytical process and the role of the media

The research design is based on Walsham's (1995) methods of qualitative interpretive research in information systems. The qualitative research methods, used with the ethnographic methods, like creative interviewing, provides a holistic view of the investigation. However, qualitative methods have several limitations. For instance, qualitative methods heavily depend on the researcher's ability to understand trends and, sometimes, they are also affected by the biases and idiosyncrasies.

The researcher's dilemma regarding anonymity and confidentiality of the source is always questioned while presenting the results. The time frame of this study makes it difficult to analyse large volumes of qualitative data, and the rigour is more difficult to maintain, assess, and demonstrate. I was coding/tagging the data, to demonstrate that it is drawn systematically from the heterogeneous data sources. This gives me a chance to expose the big picture and the gaps in the research methodology and the data. It has also provided me with an opportunity to identify the patterns and phenomena that may not have been immediately visible in the course of the fieldwork, e.g., the relationships between various factors.

At the same time, qualitative interpretive research has several significant strengths. Critical subjects such as single-issue groups, could be analysed in the appropriate details and depth. Creative interview techniques have provided an opportunity to rephrase the questions, follow the answers and redirect the responses for more meaningful insights. In my research, the data gathered from the interviews have been provided more compelling and powerful arguments.

Rheingold (1993) has defined online social groups as virtual communities. The members of single-issue groups are part of the virtual communities; these communities allow individuals to express their opinion more freely, exchange messages and build up the collective momentum. These virtual communities have real presence and existence for the participants (Kozinets, 1998, Kozinets, 2010) and thus have substantial effects on the outcomes of single-issue movements. Through the modern digital ethnography methods, the social web can provide data coming from the thousands of individuals. It allows us to keep the record of these exchanges, build up the biography of the digital artefacts and perform analysis on the data. The principal artefacts are the emails, blogs, communication threads, text messages and records of the phone conversation.

One of the major limitations of the ethnography research is that it takes a lot longer than most other kinds of research (Meyers, 1999). Ethnography takes a long time for fieldwork, for the interviews and, most importantly, for the undertaking of the required analysis and for writing the final report or an article. Another criticism of ethnography is that it lacks breath. Meyers (1999), quotes Walsham (1995) and Yin (1994) to explain that such criticism is unfounded. The new age ethnographers, who are now dealing with the online groups and individuals, are quite comfortable in creating generalise arguments and when theorising their in-field results.

In India, the foremost challenge of collecting these artefacts is related to the language – with the diversified languages, it may be difficult to convert the content into English. The technology-lead social activism is primarily an urban phenomenon; hence, a majority of the respondents were able to respond in English. Some of the respondents gave interviews in a vernacular language, such as Hindi or Marathi, or

even used mixed languages. Since the scholar is a native of India, he was able to understand most of the words, with the parts of the interviews that were spoken in other language transcribed by using a paid interpreter. The population of the vernacular language respondents was limited to just two people out of the 43 interviews conducted.

India is the second largest mobile market in the world, with 900 million active users. The mobile is used for the collaboration, communication, downloads and chatting. Due to the high penetration of mobile phones, they are utilised by the marketers and other groups to reach out to potential customers/users.

However, many rural members of single-issue-groups can be illiterate or semi-literate. These users, though having access to the cutting-edge technology, may not be able to appreciate the extent of participation. For instance, one of the groups used "missed call" as a medium to register protest against corruption. The users are asked to give a missed call to a particular number and, in return, they receive SMS updates regarding the activities of the group. Many of the users don't know how to read the SMS and are excluded from the latest news about the group, despite being the registered members in the group. This *unforced* exclusion from the community due to lack of ability to read-write provide a different contextual challenge to understand the impact of the group.

The single-issue social activist groups were formed as a part of changing social structure, sometimes to put pressure on the government and sometimes to address a prominent social cause by raising their voices. The single-issue groups have

started to their advantage a greater use of technology to reach out to many more people.

The choice of the group is based on many factors, such as the size of the group, the type of the group – political, social, religious, urban, rural; and some other factors, including the origin of the group – i.e., groups backed by the political parties, established organization, corporations or formed by the unrelated individuals. The investigation of multiple groups has given me an understanding of the construct of the groups; under which conditions these groups were formed; and what are the socio-technical challenges faced by the groups. Given the structure of the PhD program, time and resource limitations, it is impossible to do it as a longitudinal fieldwork. However, there might be the possibility of extending my research beyond the PhD program.

4.4.1 Ethics, confidentiality and informed consent

Kozinets (2009), advocates that to conduct digital ethnography (and interviews) by the research ethics:

- i. the researcher should fully disclose his or her presence, affiliations, and intentions to the community members during any research;
- ii. the researcher should ensure confidentiality and anonymity of informants; and
- iii. the researcher should seek and incorporate feedback from the members of the community being researched.

The ethical issues related to working with the groups that use the social media and other online tools are quite critical. Although a majority of ethical considerations are similar while working in a localised space; the construct of the virtual

communities provides a different challenge for the researcher. The informed consent of the human subjects and the protection of privacy have been addressed by ethnographers. E.g., in the medical settings, ethnographers have paid much attention to the informed consent and the anonymisation of data.

In the online space, it is easy to eavesdrop on a conversation, message feed or a discussion, without the knowledge of the participants. Cuppro (2002) raised the issue of online trust while conducting the research. She discussed the basic ethical challenges that concern the tension between the freedom and surveillance. In large group settings, when the communication flow is happening at several messages per day, the ethical dilemma of the researcher is how he should take consent from each person who is participating in the discussion. The problem may not be severe when the people are posting in the public spaces that anyone can observe.

The researcher needs to be more careful when people are posting in the spaces occupied by a small group of people that share their perceptions and who may not anticipate that their activities are being viewed by outsiders. The researcher needs to advise people that he is analysing the posts – tell them the purpose of research and how the data will be used and seek their permission to use their posts.

There are debates about these issues (Kozinets, 2009), some scholars state that consent is not needed – in the same way, that permission is not sought for the data in a newspaper. The online identity in many cases is different from the real identity; hence, it becomes difficult to prove authenticity or take consent from the subject individually. However, I have followed the approach of taking consent (written or informed) from all the participants.

Elgesem (2002) suggests there are special kinds of restrictions in online channels of communication that are rarely found in the offline channels. In the offline settings, the information can be protected traditionally, and it can be released depending on the situation. In the online settings, such formal or physical restrictions may not apply to the access. It is difficult to monitor who is using the information available in what context (Elgesem, 2002).

Before starting this project, I have gone through the School of Social and Political Sciences (SPS), University of Edinburgh (<http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/>) ethics guidelines and checklist procedure. The current research was assessed as corresponding to level 1: not involving particular ethical or safety risks or precautions above and beyond normal professional research practice. The completed level 1 ethical assessment is attached at Annexure 1.

The face-to-face interviews are done with the informed consent, as mentioned above. I have contacted the respondents through the email and explain to them the purpose of the research and project description, to seek their consent. In the case of public media, like blogs, threads and online groups, the informed consent is not required. Adequate steps were taken to anonymize the source where sensitive information is discussed.

The access to the online data collection has been followed according to similar guidelines as for the offline data. As a part of this research, no vulnerable data, individuals or organisation were assessed during the data collection process. Adequate measures were taken to maintain the anonymity of the source for the data which is regarded as public knowledge but are potentially sensitive. In the course of

research, there were constant reviews to identify any new ethical issues or risks that might arise.

Consent has been obtained from all the interviewees; all but one decided to be identified in the thesis; therefore, there was no visible risk to the interviewees.

Throughout the research process, level 1 ethical assessment has been maintained (Annexure 1). During the research, the constant ethical review has been conducted by myself and verified by both supervisors, especially about new ethical risks that may arise.

Chapter 5: Technology Appropriation and Moral Policing: The Case of the Pink Chaddi Campaign

5.1 Introduction

Individuals around the world, especially women, have been witnessing 'moral policing' at different levels of their lives. Moral values are thrust upon women more vigorously than on their male counterparts.

The moral policing is not limited to a particular country or religion. In countries, such as Saudi Arabia, religious police known as "Mutaween" has sweeping powers to prosecute anybody who in their view does not follow their reading of the laws of Islam. Cahn (2000) has argued that the women are constantly policed globally in the unusual ways - from monitoring of the motherhood to the criminalization of prostitution. In the developing countries like India, moral policing is more visible in numerous forms - women are often told not to mingle with the males or not to wear skimpy clothes. Often, women are barred from going to restaurants, hotels or even to attending schools.

Vigilantism or everyday policing is practiced through the cultural attitudes that devalue women's work or, in many cases, it is through the criminal /civil law of the state (Buur & Jensen, 2004; Cahn, 2000). The issues of women's autonomy and privileges and of women's subordination in the society have been widely discussed in the literature (Cahn, 2000; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Graham & Haidt, 2010).

Feminists question the treatment of women as a special class and its relations with the social and economic issues. For centuries, social differences between men and women have pushed the boundaries of vigilantism to the extent that we have also seen in the modern context.

The Pink Chaddi case is an archetype of superfluous moral policing and appropriation of technology to counter the incidents in India. The Pink Chaddi campaign reflects upon the role of mobile technology, traditional media and new media tools in confronting vigilantism and moral policing in India. The technology does not work in the silos; there is a strong correlation between the appropriation of technology and the social cause. The Pink Chaddi campaign is considered among the pioneer examples of activism in India, where technology was exploited successfully to achieve the goals of the social organisation.

This case has been mainly structured into three sections – the first section discusses the background of the Pink Chaddi campaign, the social background of vigilantism and the rise of moral policing in India. The second section focuses on the rise and decline of the Pink Chaddi campaign and provides a brief overview of the Mangalore pub attack that led to the launch of the Pink Chaddi campaign. This is followed by how women groups formed a consortium by using a mix of online and offline strategies to treat the moral policing issue initiated by Sri Ram Sene, and its impact. The last section highlights a role of the media and offline and online strategies used followed by discussion based on temporary organisation and social shaping of the technology.

5.2 Background of the Pink Chaddi campaign

The contemporary Indian women's movement comprises numerous groups and organisations – urban, rural, small, large, informal, local, international and combination of all these forms (Patel, 1985; Subramaniam, 2004). Though, many organisations including NGOs have taken up the issues relating to Dalit and Tribal Women, maid-servants, women living in slums, wife beating, rape etc, however, the issue of moral policing towards urban women does not find much favour among educated class (Gorringe, 2005; Kaul, 2009; Rao, 2000). In India, it is assumed that the urban educated women shall remain idealistic; thus, refrain from small pleasures of life such drinking whereas, men are not bounded by similar moral policing. The Mangalore pub-attack triggered the anger among the women group that raised the vital issue of women liberalisation against the so-called traditions and customs of the society. Pink Chaddi campaign was the roaring success. For the first time, Indian women were able to demonstrate their feelings such openly in public about equal rights and equal freedom to men. Pink Chaddi setup the stage for more vocal women liberal groups that included equal corporate salary and fair treatment on the place of work. The collective activism of pink chaddi movement can be witnessed much after; kiss of love campaign (explained in later chapters), LGBT³² activism thrived in past few years forcing governments to relook into some of the controversial laws. In

³² Being LGBT in India: Some Home Truths

<http://www.livemint.com/Sundayapp/sAYrieZdZKEybKzhP8FDdbP/Being-LGBT-in-India-Some-home-truths.html>

recent judgement in 2018, Supreme Court of India agree to 're-examine' colonial era law to decriminalise gay relationships³³.

The Pink Chaddi campaign was inspired from the "tactical" Gandhian model of Satyagraha (Klitgaard, 1971). This case aims to investigate the relationship between technology appropriation and social activism. The case discusses the exploitation of technology and the emergence of different practices. Furthermore, the case explores how the coupling of technology affordances and social practices are shaping single-issue activism. The Pink Chaddi case provides an important illustration of the adoption of diversified practices by the social activist groups using new media tools. Thirteen detailed interviews were carried out, that included core group members, fringe activists and the supporters. The interviews provided comprehensive insights on the timeline of the events and an opportunity to deeply cognise the campaign.

5.2.1 Actors and Social Mobilisation in Pink Chaddi Campaign

Social mobilisation is the primary step of community development from conflicts (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). In the Pink Chaddi Campaign, various actors took active participation in thinking, understanding the situation of moral policing, organising, and initiating actions for recovery with their initiatives and using creativity for both online and offline strategies.

The starting point for the case was the initiative of the conservative vigilante group who took direct action, visiting pubs and engaging in 'moral policing' and beatings and created propaganda using YouTube and other social media channels.

³³ India's supreme court could be about to decriminalise gay sex in major victory for LGBT rights <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/india-homosexuality-legalise-law-gay-lgbt-couples-supreme-court-ruling-a8148896.html>

Their motive was to convey the message that Indian girls are not allowed to drink in the pub and if they do so, these lashing, beating and abusing of girls will create terror in the society. The social media become a significant tool to spread this message to the society-at-large and impacted the thought process for women drinking in pubs. The social media and local media played an important secondary role in reporting and communicating an exciting story to form the thought process. The debate was raised in the society for the issue 'whether drinking in the pub by the Indian girls is ethically based on Hindu culture or not'.

This dramatic intervention provoked a counter response amongst Women's groups. Women was the second principal actor in the case study who acted in response to the propaganda generated by Vigilante group. Urban educated metro-centric middle and upper class people or elites (Gowda, 2011) did not accept the values of the vigilantes. Indian elites constitute around 30 million households in 2010 – one tenth of the population (Gowda, 2011). They valued their own autonomy and were readily attracted to the new movement. The response attracted wider constituencies not limited to the women but also the men who cared about the freedom of choice for women.

The third actor in the case comprise government and judiciary who have to listen to the pressure due to the negative publicity of vigilante group. The state was the target for the vigilantes but then there was a contest about the proper role of the state in enforcing moral values versus liberties. India is a secular state in the diversified society dominated by Hindu religion where right to express is well enacted in the constitution. This created a new thought process for the independent position of women in Indian society and pressurised the existing political group to attribute

respect for all social class than religion (The role of key group leaders is explained in Section 5.4.2-C).

5.3 Vigilantism and Moral Policing in India

Moral police is the name given to the vigilante groups that act to enforce virtuous codes in the society. Vigilante groups have no legal standing, but due to their “social acceptance” among large sections of the society, little opposition is mounted, especially in India. These groups voice their concerns on whatsoever they see as immoral or against the “Indian culture and values”.

In a few cases, these groups may go beyond the “advisory” role and take actions by organising rallies, bans, threats, etc. Most of these vigilante groups have strong political affiliations; thereby, making it difficult for governments to act against them. The growth of vigilante groups can also be attributed to the dubious section 294 of Indian Penal Code (IPC) that states, *"Whoever, to the annoyance of other, does any obscene act in any public place ... shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine, or with both."* The “obscene act” has not been defined very clearly in the penal code; often the act is invoked against the music compositions, art and paintings, film posters and even acts of public display of affection.

Table 5.3: Example of where the section 294 IPC had been invoked

SNo.	Description of the case
1	An Israeli couple was charged with section 294 and slapped a fine of INR 500 for kissing in public after they got wed in a Hindu style ceremony at Pushkar. The magistrate called kissing “an act of indecency”.
2	India actress Shilpa Shetty and British actor Richard Gere was summoned to the court under IPC section 294 when Mr. Gere kissed Ms. Shetty on the cheeks at a movie promotion function.
3	Many Indian states have their own versions of the IPC section 294. For instance, section 110 of Mumbai police act - “indecent behaviour in public” was invoked against a young man who kissed his girlfriend on the cheeks to say her ‘goodbye’. He was fined INR 1200, but after a yearlong legal battle was acquitted of the charges by quoting insufficient evidence.
4	The moral policing has invited the anger of the educated youth. Whenever the incidents of the moral policing are witnessed, they are usually strongly protested by the online groups. In the majority of time, these online groups organize a rally or a demonstration to defy the moral policing. In 2014, the ‘Kiss of Love’ ³⁴ campaign was organized by the youths in Kochi to protest against vandalizing a café frequented by the young couples.

* Data compiled from the secondary sources of popular newspapers and websites.

Vigilantism has found the political support but it also faces an opposition from different political groups. Many political parties support the vigilante incidents either because they agree with it or sometimes to appease their conservative voters. Moral policing incidents remind us of the debates on politics and religion (Bruce, 2003; Gentile, 2006; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Graham & Haidt, 2010), and of the societal standing of women in the modern society.

³⁴ Indians Kiss to protest moral policing, Al Jazeera. Retrieve on 30th Nov 2014. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2014/11/indians-kiss-protest-kerala-kochi-2014112134325780732.html>

5.3.1 Sri Ram Sene

Sri Ram Sene (literally, Army of Lord Rama) was founded by Mr Pramod Muthalik in 2006. Mr Muthalik had a chequered political career spanning over several decades at various political outfits. In the past, he had been accused in intimidation, defiling religious books, unlawful assembly, violating prohibitory orders, evading judicial warrants and hate speeches. In 2006, after being expelled from his previous political outfit, he recuperated the Sri Ram Sene and setup its headquarter in Bengaluru.

The group was widely known for its notorious actions. The members of the group have been involved in various problematic incidents in different parts of the country. On 24 August 2008, the Sri Ram Sene has organised a protest against the noted painter MF Hussain's paintings in Delhi. They have claimed that this art was "indecent" and "offensive" to the Hindu religion (Live, 2011).

The group was also mentioned in the charge sheet filled by the Maharashtra Police after Malegaon blasts in 2006 (Hindu, 2009). In 2008, the activists of the Sene have damaged the Samajwadi Party Office in New Delhi, to protest against the remarks made by the party spokesperson regarding late police inspector MC Sharma (Express, 2008). The group repeatedly did various mischievous things to remain in the news.

Post 2009 Mangalore incident, the group had gone into the hibernation; however, it has occasionally operated to ensure its survival. In 2011, Sri Ram Sene was exposed by Tehelka newspaper through a sting operation. The sting operation was aimed to expose the real motive of the groups – they were ready to offer their

“services” to the undercover reporters, like to organize a “riot”, in exchange for the money (Sanjana & Sharma, 2010).

5.4 The Pink Chaddi Campaign: Rise and Decline

The Pink Chaddi Campaign started with a Mangalore pub attack on young girls on the moral policing ground. The case is based on the ‘Non Specialist users’ of technology playing an active role in fitting the technology requirements and, due to the fluidity of their requirements “making them useful and imparting their meaning (domestication)” (Williams, Stewart, & Slack, 2005, Abstract). The case highlights Mangalore Pub attack and a Valentine day incident at the initial stage.

5.4.1 The Mangalore Pub Attack and the Valentine Day Incident: the initial stage

Mangalore is a busy coastal town in the state of Karnataka in India. Mangalore is known for its cosmopolitan life style and a vibrant outlook. On 24th January 2009, a group of young girls went for “pubbing”³⁵ with their friends. Later in the day, about 40 members belonging to a group called ‘Sri Ram Sene’ also came to the club named Amnesia – The Lounge; they have dragged the girls out and beat them up in front of the TV cameras.

The members of the group have alleged that it is against the Indian culture for women to drink and go for “pubbing”. Two of the women were hospitalized with the sustaining injuries following the attack. The copies of the videos were also posted on the popular social media channel – YouTube and shared on other social media

³⁵ To go to various pubs (source Collins dictionary)

platform. The incident became one of the most watched events on YouTube in India during that period.

The attack was premeditated and planned weeks in advance; a probable motive was to have a “show” of public abuse of the girls that could have a prolonged influence on the minds of the people. The group wanted to set an example of sorts and give a warning that whenever women were attempting to go to pub for drinking, they would be lashed and insulted in public.

The Sri Ram Sene leader informed TV crews and other media 30 min before the attack. Journalists with their video cameras were present at the time of the attack, as they were asked to cover the event live. Later, a video of the attack released by a local TV station has gone viral on YouTube³⁶.

The affiliates of Sri Ram Sene, headed by Mr Pramod Muthalik, carried out the attack. Mr Pramod Muthalik has given a statement in the press saying, *"Whoever has done this has done a good job. Girls going to pub is not acceptable. So, whatever the Sena members did was right"*(Sharma, 2009).

Due to a huge public outcry and extensive media coverage, Muthalik soon became isolated due to this incident; he later claimed that the way Sene members “acted was wrong” but it is necessary to “save our mothers and daughters” (DNA, 2013). His statements have demonstrated that he had not denounced but rather supported the incident.

³⁶ For YouTube video of the Mangalore Pub Attack see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lEbD2aXs-XU>

Following the success of the Mangalore pub attack, Mr Muthalik was buoyant. He called for the boycott of Valentine day falling on 14th Feb 2009. In his opinion, the Valentine day is imposing “Western” influence on the young girls and boys of India, therefore, it should not be celebrated. He announced in the media: *"Our activists will go around with a priest, a turmeric stub and a mangalsutra³⁷ on 14 February. If we come across couples being together in public and expressing their love, we will take them to the nearest temple and conduct their marriage"* (Post, 2011).

Significantly, the girls who were attacked in Mangalore have never come forward to register a formal complaint. The obvious explanation could be the social pressure, or perhaps their families were scared by the attack. Muthalik comments have been widely criticized by the commentators and the public at large. Following the incidents of the Mangalore pub attack and Muthalik’s stand on the Valentine day’s celebrations, several activist groups have been spurred into action to oppose Sri Ram Sene. The most prominent case was the Pink Chaddi campaign.

The Mangalore pub attack was widely covered by the media. Despite the live media coverage of the abuse of the girls, the police did not arrest the attackers, stating the lack of evidence. People were shocked to see the audacity of the perpetrators and the inaction of the government against the attackers.

Nisha Susan was a young journalist living in New Delhi when she saw the footage on the TV on 24th Jan 2009. She was appalled looking at the news coverage and the government inaction. Her anger incited her to form a group on Facebook that

³⁷ Turmeric stub (a symbolic line made of turmeric and put at the centre of the head) and manglasutra (specially designed necklace) are the symbolic objects worn by the married Hindu women.

she called “Consortium of Pubgoing, Loose and Forward Women”. *“Initially it started as a joke, I spoke to one friend, and she joined. Then next morning there were 50-60 people who joined the group”*. – Nisha Susan, Founder, Pink Chaddi Campaign.

Nisha then called a few of her friends and told them about the Facebook group. Within the few hours of the launching the group, more people have joined her Facebook page. The campaign started growing by the leaps and bounds with the thousands of supporters joining in from across India and the world within the next few days. The growth of the campaign was unprecedented; the ad-hoc team lead by Nisha Susan was completely unprepared to handle the rush.

On the next day after launching the campaign on Facebook, the team has decided to make the campaign somewhat more “funny” and “laugh at it” (interview transcripts). The modus operandi of the campaign was to send Pink Chaddi (pink underwear or panties) to the head of Sri Ram Sene Mr Pramod Muthalik (who is a pronounced bachelor) on the close by Valentine Day of 14th February 2009, to demonstrate the love and affection from the women of the country (Susan, 2009). The non-violent symbolic campaign was planned to embarrass the activists of the Sri Ram Sene and force them to realise their mistake. To execute the campaign, the group has developed an online strategy and an offline action plan.

A day before the Valentine day, i.e., on 13th Feb 2009, thousands of pink chaddis were couriered to the Sri Ram Sene office by the volunteers in Bangalore, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Delhi and Amritsar (Agencies, 2009). The bigger metros, such as Mumbai, had more than one collection points; pink chaddis were sent as a big

parcel to the Sene office. The people who were living abroad or in smaller towns sent their parcels directly.

5.4.2 The Pink Chaddi Campaign at the Maturity Stage

In the case of the Pink Chaddi campaign, Facebook and blogs were used extensively to collaborate and communicate among the group members. At the beginning, Nisha sought support from her friends and colleagues to spread the word. When the newspapers and the media picked up the story, the Facebook page was joined by the thousands of supporters within the hours and coming days.

Due to the sudden popularity of the page, Nisha had asked her associates to manage the page. *“Things were happening in quick succession, so somebody need to control what’s happening”* – Nisha Susan, Founder, The Pink Chaddi Campaign.

A: Facebook and Social Media

Since the protest started as an online Facebook group page, most of the people who joined in the beginning were friends of Nisha and their friends. These activists were young, educated, urban and concerned about the cause.

“There were two set of people; first who feel enlightened, provoked and who thought it is a privileged to participate in something meaningful. For second set of people it was meaningless and they don’t want to get involved directly. The role of the activist is propagate the idea and idea cannot be owned by anyone.” – Nitin Mayant, founding member, The Pink Chaddi Campaign.

Once the group started making the “right noises”, the Facebook group membership grew by the thousands, said Nisha Susan, founder the Pink Chaddi

campaign. She added, *“Within a day of starting the campaign we had 500 odd members. In a week we hit 40,000”*. The online presence was primarily to facilitate the discussion and complement it with the offline strategy (by sending the pink chaddis).

The group’s membership was diverse and dispersed across India and around the world. Without the substantial online presence, it would have been difficult to comprehend and publicize the thought process of the group among its members. Other than publicizing, Facebook group was used for the coordination purpose and for communication among the core members. The online tools (Facebook and Blogs) were used to post the critical information, such as phone numbers of the volunteers who were doing the media interactions, the address of Sri Ram Sene to send the Chaddi directly, and the addresses of the drop-off points in the respective cities where people could have dropped the Chaddis.

The group extensively used mobile phones as the principal method of communication among the core group. The key messages were sent through the SMS and then were further distributed to other members. On the Facebook page, the mobile numbers of the core group members were published to facilitate the information regarding the collection points. The strategy to put phone numbers online was to promote the cause by giving interviews to the media and giving information to the people who do not have access to the social media.

“...yes there was lots of calls I think I was getting more media calls with request story and interviewwhatever but there were lot of people who all just to argue say or even to threaten you in some way of why you doing this you don’t know what

you have done by putting a number online..... now we can track you and so” – Vivek Nityanand, core group member.

B: Hacking and Disturbances

Sudden popularity of the group and the “controversial” nature of the cause attracted miscreants. Group’s Facebook page was hacked constantly and defaced by posting vulgar messages or irrelevant information. At the peak of the campaign the Facebook page was hacked several times a day. The hackers were posting the distorted messages, sexual images, and photographs³⁸. Worse, the hackers were also posting direct threats towards the women supporters to dissuade them. The page administrators had to send an email to Facebook about a page being hacked; Facebook would restore the page but it was hacked again.

“... so I mean the page and the property was destroyed but our conversation that was happening on different form.... on blogs..... it was happening on television.....”
– Nisha Susan, founder the Pink Chaddi campaign. Nisha recalls an incident about a young activist named Kaveri Chowdhary, when she became the target of cyber vandalism.

The core committee suggestion of going to the police did not find many takers. Police was helpless in the absence of names or faces of the hackers. So, the group decided to abandon the Facebook page and move to Blogspot. The blogspot is a blog-space where you can publish your blogs and users can put comments on them. Blogspot has provided the extra level of security to the messages, as most of the

³⁸ In 2009, Facebook privacy features were not enough advanced. During that time, Facebook allowed group members to post pictures, posts, etc.

comments on the blogspot are moderated. At the same time, the flexibility of Facebook for people to post contributing comments was absent on the blogspot.

Therefore, the core group decided to shift from just being online to focus on the offline action.

C: Online Administration and Responsibilities

The management of resources is the biggest challenge for a large online group that is growing by hundreds of members by each passing hour. A Facebook group needed to be administered by “trustworthy” and “dependable” individuals who are aligned with the objectives of the group and who can communicate with the new group members. It was difficult to rapidly build the trust among the newly joined members at the Facebook page; therefore, the admin responsibility was given to those people who were already connected “offline”. The offline-connected people were known to each other prior to the start of the activist group.

One of the major roles of the admins was to “identify” and “bifurcate” people into subgroups. The group was an open membership group; everybody was welcomed to join the group, without taking prior permission from the admins. Three sets of people were identified by the group admins, who could be separated into subgroups - *supporters, opposition and pushing own agenda* (interview transcripts).

The supporters were the ones who were supporting the cause; whereas, the people in opposition were not in agreement with the group’s agenda. To protect the “Internet ethos”³⁹, even members opposing the principles of the group were allowed

³⁹ Internet Ethos: Everyone should have the freedom to connect to the Internet without taking permissions. (source: <http://www.thesocialworkplace.com/2011/12/the-ethos-of-the-internet-and-a-culture-of-innovation/>)

to discuss and post messages on the Facebook page. As Samir Gandhi, group admin, said *“we need to hear all kind of ideas – negative or positive to understand the point of view.....Until somebody was abusive, we never kicked out anybody”*. The members, who were pushing their own personal agendas, such as particular political thoughts or canvassing for a specific person/party, were booted out of the Facebook page and they were banned from joining the discussions.

Table 5.4.2C: Type of sub-groups on the Consortium of Pubgoing, Loose and Forward Women Facebook page

SNo.	Type of groups bifurcated by the admins	Example of postings done by the individuals belonging to these groups
1.	Supporter of the campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We whole heartedly support your cause • Can I become your volunteer; I can help you in Baroda city.
2.	Opposition of the campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is absurd and foolish attempt to malign the Indian culture. This group should be banned. • What is wrong in if somebody trying to tell how to behave in public? Girls should learn the decency.
3.	Pushing own agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donate for the flood victims in Bihar • Government failed to check the vandalism, the home minister should resign, join the xyz party.

Five people were given the responsibility of being the collective admin of the Facebook page, to keep the watch on the conversations and happenings on the page. *“Things were happening at a scary pace, sometimes with a blink of an eye you*

missed an important comment or discussion and you cannot sit in front of Facebook for the whole day, we all had jobs” – Samir Gandhi, group admin.

A feisty banker who organised the collection centre in Mumbai, has chosen to remain anonymous due to her employment obligations. Being a senior executive in a leading bank, she did not want to be named publicly on the Facebook group or blog. Her challenge was how to support the collection without being identified; so she came up with an original approach. She lived in a high-rise apartment in the suburbs of Mumbai that has hundreds of flats. The high-rise apartment was kept secure by the round the clock guards. She instructed the guards to accept the collection of ‘parcels’ and keep them at the guard posts. The guards were given instruction on not to divulge the name, identity or address of the lady. The arrangement was done for almost a week. During that period, she was able to collect a box full of chaddi’s. The volunteers from Mumbai sent those collected chaddis to the Sene office before Valentine’s Day in a combined parcel. Similar collection points were organised across the major cities in India and even abroad.

To prevent the backlash from Shri Ram Sene, volunteers advised the people who were sending the parcels, not to include their names or return addresses. People included many personal messages for the leaders of the group asking them questions about their ‘act’ against the women, though nobody included their own name for security and safety. Exhibit A shows the photos of panties and notes written by the people for Sri Ram Sene (exhibit A).

5.4.3 Impact of the Pink Chaddi Campaign

Sri Ram Sene announced that they would send Saree and Sindoor to the ladies who are sending them the chaddi's. There is a cultural relevance of sending Saree and Sindoor with Indian Hindus. This was Sri Ram Sene's way to tell the women that they should respect Indian culture and traditions.

Lawyers sent legal notices related to defamation of Sene to the member of activist group. There is no evidence whether these legal notices were pursued further. Sri Ram Sene was completely taken aback by the sudden surge of online and offline support for the Pink Chaddi campaign. The traditional supporter base of the Sri Ram Sene did not come forward due to the fear of popular backlash from the supporters of the campaign.

Sri Ram Sene, being a traditionalist vigilante group, was ill-equipped for the online campaign they had faced from the protesters. First, they tried to laugh it off by claiming it be a childish act by a group of young women. Once the support base for the protest group started to swell and protest group found the friends in the government to back them up, Sri Ram Sene has got into the mode of denial.

The protest was effective, the government bowed down to the public pressure and took Sri Ram Sene members into protective custody to avoid any further incident (Sanghani, 2009). The group head was released after a few days; no charges were filed against him since none of the girls who were beaten came forward to report the incident to the police. Sri Ram Sene received a significant negative publicity due to the incident; consequently, they have failed out of favour with their political masters. The group largely remained a defunct organisation after the Pink Chaddi incident;

many attempts to revive it failed miserably due to the lack of support from the people and the political parties.

5.5 Role of Media and Social learning

The Pink Chaddi campaign was also an appropriate case for “how technologies can be adopted at local context” (Williams, Stewart, & Slack, 2005, p 5). There were many online and offline strategies used in support of the case. Interestingly, interaction with the media not only posed opportunities but also many challenges at various stages, particularly in relation to how volunteers involved in the Pink Chaddi campaign handled the incident.

As the story had been picked up by the media, a diversified set of people started to join the protests and participate in the offline action. Many newspapers published the reports in local vernacular languages, reaching out to small towns and villages all over the country. Within the first two days of forming the Facebook group, media has started covering the events. Nisha herself was the journalist; therefore, it may be possible that she was able to get her journalists friends to write about the incident and the responses.

No doubt, it was an interesting story to cover regardless of somebody's connections in the media circles. Interest of the media was also present because in the history of Indian democracy, no such protest has ever happened before that was triggered online; the Pink Chaddi was a first social-media-lead protest in the country.

Many newspapers printed the phone numbers of activists and methods to send chaddis to Sri Ram Sene office. “....my phone number was published in a small

newspaper in Orissa” – Nitin Mayanth, founding member, the Pink Chaddi campaign. The core group did not prepare any media strategy, though few of them were asked to interact with the media groups to keep the discourse consistent. Traditional media helped out the group to reach out to the new audiences and supporters. Some of them have got actively engaged in the running of protests at their locations. *“I saw a article in Times of India about Facebook group I called Nisha”*, Samir Gandhi, group admin, Facebook page.

In a short time, handling the media has started to become a matter of concern and a challenge to group members. *“Some of us switched off our phones not because of the threatening calls necessarily I think the media too much off nuisance especially in the beginning, we were completely unprepared ...”* Vivek Nityanand, core group member. The group was neither prepared nor trained for the publicity and the media attention that they were getting.

In the political parties or organized Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), there is a special public relations division that prepares the media strategy on how to handle communications. In the case of the pink chaddi campaign, although few of the journalists were involved in the group, they have never experienced the other side of attention. The group members whose phone numbers were put online on the Facebook page were getting much higher number of calls.

The role of the media was not a primary one, but it cannot be ignored. The media played a neutral role of reporting and communicating an interesting story. *“In terms of shaping the campaign or deciding on how the campaign was run; the media didn’t particularly played a role”*, Vivek Nityanand, core group member.

5.5.1 Technology Appropriation and Affordances

Volunteers of the Pink Chaddi campaign did not have any political affiliation or prior exposure to the social activism. The main challenge was to reach to more people in short time. The campaign leaders were educated, technology savvy and urbane having access to social media and sound understanding of social media tools operation. Social media tools become the most obvious choice for communication in most cost-effective manner because of its higher reach. Though Facebook was never used in India earlier for the purpose of social activism; volunteers were able to reconfigure its affordance through the new way of adaption. The low-cost solution was quick yet innovative fix to the problem to reach out to maximum number of people in the shortest time. Using Facebook page, Pink Chaddi Campaign mobilised the protests to urge the women to post/parcel a new/old pink underwear to Pramod Muthalik or drop them at collection points. They also urged group members to share pictures of the pink underwear they were giving, in order to inspire other women. The campaign was among pioneers in India to use Facebook page and Blogspot to motivate and guide the activists for participation.

The core of the campaign was shaped by smart use of the technology with the extraordinary offline action. Due to the media coverage, the messages have reached to those who do not have access to the Internet. For instance, an old illiterate lady from Orissa sent her chaddi to the team when her granddaughter told her about the campaign. Her action demonstrates the unparalleled support generated for the campaign both from the new and old generations. The segmentation of the individual participants has enabled the admins to manage the page as per requirements of the group.

Table 5.5.1a: Tools and Strategies used by the activists

SNo.	Online Tools	Strategy
1.	Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community participation• Updates and comments• Address of the collection points• Share the phone number of volunteers• Much larger reach to the community and deeper engagement• Facebook is not a public space; its discussions are non-searchable
2.	SMS and mobile	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communication and coordination• Quick updates with the core group• Media interviews• Meant for smaller group communication
3.	Blog posts	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sharing of the views in the public space• Much larger reach, searchable options• The shelf life of blog is much longer• Community participation through comments

The initial purpose of the blog is to promote a product/service or to create awareness about a subject or purely passion for writing. The Pink Chaddi Campaign opened up women comments section of blogspot to discuss the single issue of sending Pink Chaddis to Shri Ram Sene leader. The blog has not been used for promotion of the idea rather to set up the plan for action. The initial blog website was to discuss the topic of design of the logo

<http://thepinkchaddicampaign.blogspot.in/2009/02/logo-show-go.html>; though, it was important for people to understand the premise of the protests, therefore, every

trivial detail was put on the blogs or at the Facebook page. Though the blog grew organically but some the topic listed below demonstrate how the blogs were used to communicated with the volunteers and seek their comments (see table 5.2.1b).

Table 5.5.1b: Topics in the blog posted at the Pink Chaddi Blog

Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcome • Chaddi Campaign: What Next? • Attacks on Women in Bangalore • Fresh Attacks: Planning a response • Organise a Pink Chaddi event in your town • Attack #5 • Poster Campaign • Email Campaign • Press Release • Details of the Attacks
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Blogs picked up the story very fast and very soon more than 270 blogs have been linked to the campaign blog. The Facebook group was also a success with over 48,000 members and a vibrant community with more than 350 discussion topics and more than 6750 wall posts. The blogs and Facebook page complimented each other – the blog posts were shared on the individual walls of the volunteers on the Facebook, thus ensuring a wider penetration. Volunteers also shared ‘operational’ details on their own facebook page – for instance, the

information about the collection point or the time of the chaddi collection or FAQs on how to parcel the chaddi.

5.5.2 Offline Strategies and Practices

The offline strategy was to compliment the online strategy of transforming discussions into the on-the-ground actions. The collection centres address and phone numbers were put on the Facebook and blogspot pages. The volunteers through their personal Facebook page, emails, text messages and phone calls further shared the information. The collection centres were meant to assist people who cannot send their parcels directly to the Sene office. The collection centres were usually at a house of a volunteer or at an office or a convenient central location, where local residents of the city can come and drop their packages.

The offline approach was to mobilize the maximum number of people around the country and abroad. The mobilisation and contact programs by the volunteers had given an opportunity to explain the reasons for the protest.

Table 5.5.2: Offline Strategies and Practices

SNo.	Offline Strategies and Action	Impact
1.	Physical delivery of pink chaddis to the Sene office	A unique way to show the anger and disagreement in a completely non-violent way
2.	Collection points organised by the volunteers	Much larger group of people were able to “donate” their chaddis to the collection point and they were parcelled to the Sene office
3.	Mobile collection units	Volunteers were able to go to remote

	(Bike and Car collection)	locations and to the people who cannot come to the collection point
4.	Parcel delivery offered by a courier service	Free service offered by a parcel company to collect and parcel the chaddis to the Sene office

Volunteers employed innovative methods of collection; for instance, the bikers group in Karnataka did the collection by doing rounds in the cities to ask for their packages. The biker group phone numbers were published online and those who wished to get their worn panties collected could have called the bike group and the group members would collect them.

In another example, a courier company's employee parked his mobile-van outside of the gate colleges so that the girls in the colleges can drop their packages to the van. In Hyderabad, small carton boxes were placed at strategic locations by the volunteers, e.g., in front of the girls' hostel of Osmania University. In the evening, a volunteer would make a round of locations to pick up the panties and to send a parcel to the Sene office. During their evening collection rounds, volunteers have also made contacts with the people who were having questions about the movement.

5.5.3 Social Inhibitions

Despite its diversified profile, the core group of the campaign were urban educated 'metro centric' middle class people. One of the interviewees in Mumbai tried explaining the concept of Facebook and pink chaddi to her maid – but it was

difficult for the maid to comprehend why the women would need to go to a pub. The interviewee further questioned the maid about the prevailing alcoholism in the maid's community; she seems to be fine with the men drinking; however, she was uncomfortable about women drinking. These social contradictions have been exploited by the groups like Sri Ram Sene in the name of the religion.

The Pink Chaddi campaign is an illustration of the collective action using Internet based social media and traditional street-wise activism. It allowed us to look at the emerging trajectories of the society-technology relationship. The case explores the role of new media and serious activism, though some scholars differ regarding the claims that 'clicktivism' is not as serious as is mainstream activism (Butler, 2011b; Cornelissen et al., 2012; Karpf, 2010). These opinions will be elaborated in the subsequent chapters.

The case provides evidence that technology can play role "beyond raising the voice" among the select group of people. The technology is not a novelty anymore (Carr, 2003), whereas it is becoming the "commoditized" or "essential" feature of the 21st century activism. Technology is convenience, as well it is a nuisance; using technology activists can bifurcate, communicate, collaborate and track the actions and the people. Another aspect of the campaign is related to the privacy and security. The Pink Chaddi campaign has made many influential people uncomfortable and angry.

In most cases, social activism is meant to go viral. The viral phenomena of the social activism can be controlled up to the "inflection point" or the "tipping point". Once that tipping point is crossed, the initiator(s) of the campaign have little control

over the activities on the ground. In the case of the Pink Chaddi campaign, the initiators started the campaign, but once the campaign has picked up the steam, it was difficult to control or manage it. According to Nitin Mayant, many groups have picked up the cause, and they started talking to the press or started organizing their own methods of protest. He clarified, *“after a point we couldn’t control anything”*.

Vigilantism can be attributed to the state's incapacity to secure the rights of their citizens - moreover, it is related to the human and economic insecurities (Buur & Jensen, 2004). The human and economic insecurities of certain members of the community push them to find answers in the religion and the culture, which often lead to vigilantism that could be criminal in eyes of law.

Such actions could cause severe distress among the other members of the community. The members of the community fighting against the vigilante find themselves in the peculiar dilemma of protecting their rights vs protecting their traditional culture.

The above argument throws the ball back to the role of state to identify and address the issue of protection. When I say protection, I mean protection of the citizens’ rights and protection of the cultural values of the society. The right of security is a fundamental right in most of the democratic countries. The right of security provides counteractive channels against any criminal activities within the society.

For the sociologists, the interaction of the criminal justice and the society is a slippery subject. For instance, Cahn (2000) questioned the concept of the criminal justice system itself, which is somewhat skewed towards the male dominance. I am

not making any claims here whether the Indian criminal justice system is skewed towards males or females. However, through this research, I wish to raise the issue of the lack of sensitivity in the criminal justice system towards the victims (both males and females). The state should debate and implement laws to enable the smooth functioning of the society and discourage unsolicited vigilantism in any form. The criminal justice system should be supported by the civil remedial system that facilitates the needs of both victims and perpetrators (Cahn, 2000).

Issues like the freedom, security and oppression of women are of the critical concerns in the developing society like India. The campaign has reflected upon the subject of vigilantism in the society against the women and smart appropriation of technology to raise the negative side of moral policing. The ingenuous idea of organizing a group on Facebook and then shaping it with the offline action of sending Pink Chaddi's to the perpetrators has done the trick. The global support to the campaign can be attributed to both the social media and the traditional media. The campaign was a big hit; thousands of people joined the campaign from all over the world in support. The case is my attempt to draw a line between the mainstream activism and the new media activism.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The Pink Chaddi case is an archetype of the moral policing in India and follow the Gandhain model of satyagraha. This case explores how coupling of technology affordance and social learning affects the single issues groups, like the Pink Chaddi group. The case involved 13 interviews of activists – the core group members and the supporters. Vigilante groups have no legal standing but they have social

acceptance in the society for ascertaining moral policing in the community. The politicians support the vigilante groups to gather vote blocks; hence, they remain unchecked. The Pink Chaddi case is the case where women raised their voices using the technology against the erratic behaviour of Sri Ram Sena, a group widely known for its notorious actions.

The Pink Chaddi campaign was instigated due to Maganlore Pub attack on the young women in January 2009. A group of young women went for pubbing and they were brutally beaten up by the members of the Sri Ram Sena in front of the TV cameras. This attack was planned weeks in advance with an aim to demonstrate to the public the abuse of girls. The attack was widely covered in the media.

Nisha Susan, a young journalist living in Delhi started a Facebook page called “Consortium of Pubgoing, Loose and Forward Women”. The growth of the campaign was unprecedented; team of volunteers whom Nisha has gathered, was completely unprepared to handle the rush. Following the day after the launching the campaign on Facebook, the group decided to send “Pink Chaddi’s” (Pink underwear) to the head of Sri Ram Sena on the close by Valentine day, to show love and affection from the women of the country. This was a unique way of protesting against the violence by sending the “pink underwear” to the perpetrators.

To execute the strategy, the group has implemented the offline and online actions – within a week, the campaign received 40,000 hits from all across the world. The group has faced several critical issues, such as hacking their Facebook page. Management of resources has become one of the biggest challenges, especially how to align trustworthy and dependable individuals and to bifurcate people into

groups and sub-groups. Another challenge was to maintain the anonymity of the donors of Pink Chaddi, to protect them from the backlash from the Sri Ram Sene members.

To counter, Sri Ram Sene had announced that they would send the “Saree and Sindor” to the ladies who are sending them Chaddis. For their acts, Sri Ram Sene did not find much support from the political class; eventually government bowed down to the public outcry and took Sri Ram Sene members into the custody.

The group enacted numerous offline and online strategies/practices to achieve their goals. The members of the group had organised the physical delivery of pink chaddis to the Sri Ram Sene office; this was a unique way to protest against the violence in a completely non-violent manner. The group setup mobile collection units using their motorbikes and cars, so that a larger number of women could donate their Chaddis. Volunteers were able to reach out to the remote locations and to the people who could not come themselves to the collection points.

The case study demonstrates how the technology has been appropriated by the Pink Chaddi group activists to enhance their cause. The case further explores on the community engagement with the social networking websites, like Facebook, and it provides an opportunity to look at the early developments of the social media adoptions in India. Through the case, we have noted that the reconfiguration of the society has blurred the boundary between the social media, activism and the politics. These reconfigurations of technology and related social anxieties has been explored in more details in the next chapters.

Pink Chaddi Campaign emerged as a single-issue group to resolve the social issue of moral policing of women. The group was formed for few months to achieve the organisational objective, once the objective was achieved it diminished slowly. The task was to protest against the atrocities against the women by sending chaadi's to head of a political outfit. Volunteers were given specialise task of managing the website, chaadi's collection, communication among member. Pink Chaadi social activist exploited technology to support, complement and enhance the working of the campaign until the demise of the group.

Exhibit A

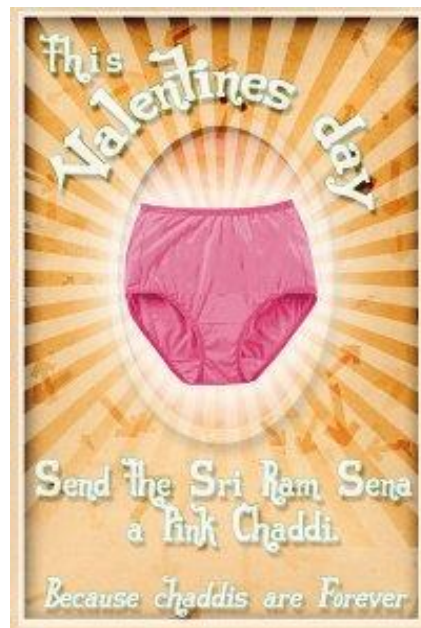


Fig 1. The poster created by the consortium for the Facebook page

facebook Home Profile Friends Inbox

PINK CHADDI GROUP INDIA [Join](#)

Wall Info Discussions Photos

Basic Info

Name: PINK CHADDI GROUP INDIA
Category: Student Groups - Community Groups
Description: A group for those supporting the Women and who supports every humans right to drink in public without being attacked or their groups maliciously cracked by sad individuals, with a lost cause.

From the Pink Chaddi Campaign:
Welcome!
What is the Pink Chaddi Campaign?

The Pink Chaddi Campaign kicked off on 5 February 2009 to oppose the Sri Ram Sena. The campaign is growing exponentially (31,888 members at this point in the life of our Consortium of Pub-going,... (read more)

Privacy Type: Open: All content is public.

Contact Info

Email: toocool_amit@yahoo.com
Website: <http://www.ursearchengine.com/name.html?...>

Recent News

News: The basic precepts of the group are as follows:
Aarti wrote:

Information

Category: Student Groups - Community Groups
Description: A group for those supporting the Women and who supports every humans right to drink in public without being attacked or their groups maliciously cracked by sad individuals,

Fig 2: Facebook page of The Pink Chaadi Campaign

Respected,
Ram Sena,
To our culture of being Indians, please understand our culture well,
- It first states respect woman, and then preserve the dignity of womanhood.
- If you say you have the dignity to be human, understand what a "HUMAN".
Wishing you, "HAPPY VALENTINES DAY", we thank you to make the nation aware of women's rights. Thank you very much.....

DEAR MR. MUTHAIK.
THIS PINK CHADDI BELONGS TO MY
10 YEAR OLD DAUGHTER. ALTHOUGH
SMALL IN SIZE, ITS PROBABLY STILL
TOO BIG TO COVER YOUR MODESTY
HAPPY VALENTINES DAY
CHEERS!

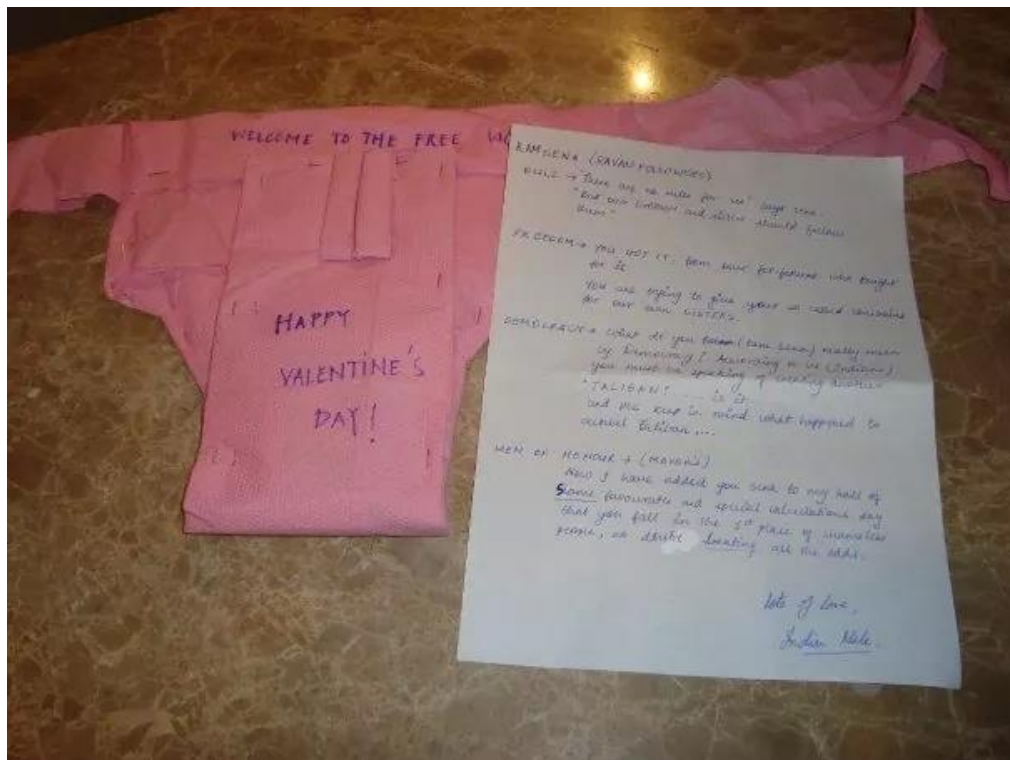


Fig 3: Example of underwears send to Sri Ram Sene office by different women



Fig 4: Sri Ram Sene officials showing the 'received' underwears in the parcel to the press

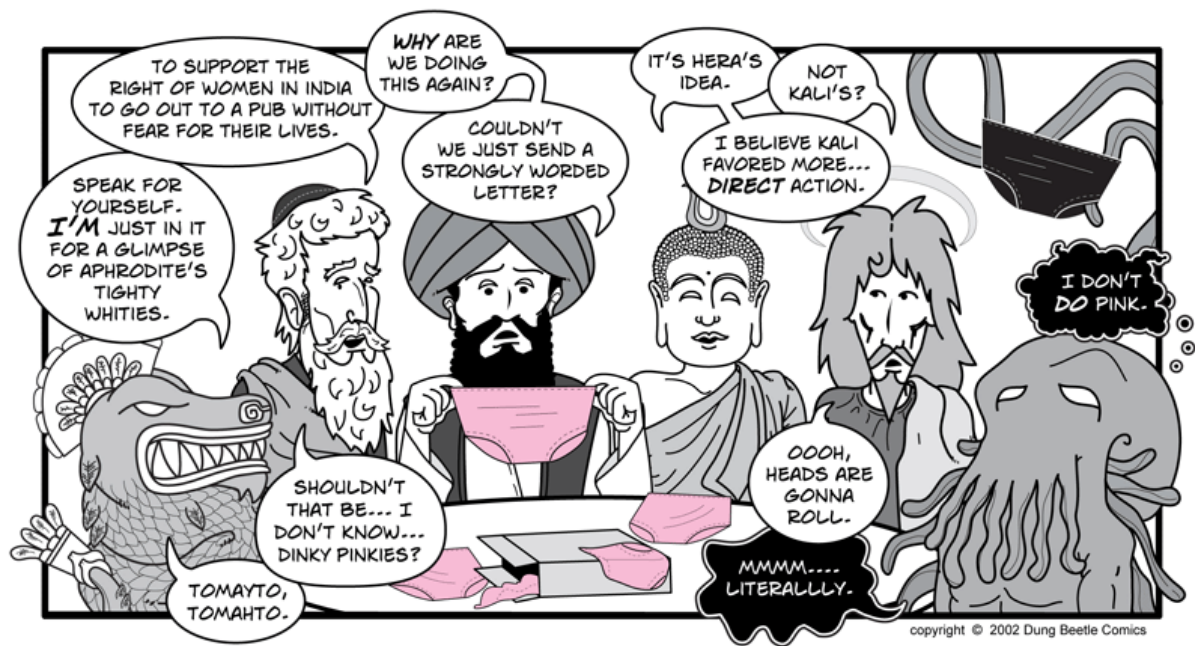


Fig 5: Mimes and cartoons created by media

Chapter 6: India Against Corruption (IAC)

6.1 Introduction

India Against Corruption (IAC) was one of the most visible and largest social movements in India in the recent times (Gowda & Prakash, 2014; Goyal & Marshall, 2013; Rodrigues, 2014). More than 400 million people were mobilized during the two yearlong anti-corruption protests (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). The case explores the emerging technological affordances that shaped the distinctive practices adopted by the IAC social activists. The practices, such as “missed call” and “SMS”⁴⁰, were smartly used by the protesters to collaborate and communicate to a larger group of supporters. The case provides a commentary on how technology appropriation can build up the magnitude of the protests.

The Case highlights IAC as a Temporary Organisation (TO) to address a particular problem of Anti-Corruption Bill in India. Temporary Organisations are defined as:

“Temporary Organisations and projects represent a common and important part of economic and social life today. Sometimes special task forces, program committees or action groups are formed, organized or appointed to handle a felt need for action, by addressing particular problems in order to make things happen within or among organizations”(Lundin & Söderholm, 1995) (p1).

⁴⁰ SMS or Short Messaging Service is used by mobile phones to send text messages

Thirty interviews were conducted with the social activists, IAC leaders and policy makers. In addition to the interviews, the background and support information was obtained from multiple sources to document the findings (Yin, 1994, 2008). These include newspaper reports, media articles, social media posts, blogs and archives of TV interviews. A review of the secondary literature has provided extensive insights in the case that was steering the interviews.

The case has been divided into three parts: The first part defines the purpose, significance, structure of IAC, and the background of the major IAC movements. The second part describes the rise and the demise of IAC as a Temporary Organization (TO) to address Anti-Corruption Bill issues in the Indian Civil Society. The final part focuses upon how the IAC group has socially learned over the period of time to meet its objectives by using different online and offline strategies. The chapter also discusses how social media tools, such as Facebook, are being exploited for the collaboration. The case highlights how new technology practices, such as 'Missed Call' and 'Mass SMS,' are being appropriated for the communication and collaboration.

6.2 Background of IAC

India Against Corruption (IAC) movement has been crystalized around the introduction of an anti-corruption bill, popularly known as Jan Lokpal Bill. In 2010, a group of the civil society members from different social streams came together demanding the introduction of the bill to the parliament to check the corruption in the public service in India. The movement grew up into a 'mini-revolution', also termed as the 'second freedom struggle' by the group's leader Mr. Anna Hazare.

Mr. Hazare defines corruption as: *“Corruption is not only of money, it can be of many types. Whatever action we do against our values, constitutes the corruption”*.

The focal point of the protest was based on the ‘Jan Lokpal Bill’ or Citizen Ombudsman Bill. The IAC demanded the implementation of the Jan Lokpal bill to check the corruption in government departments. Though the term and the concept of Jan Lokpal were coined in 1963, yet none of the successive central governments were serious enough to bring an anti-corruption bill in 60 years. The prolonged delay to bring the bill to the parliament and a series of high profile corruption scandals have eventually brought the masses to the streets. The movement was popularized with the name of India Against Corruption.

Jan Lokpal has been envisaged as an independent non-partisan body with the powers to investigate and prosecute corrupt government officials. The main aim of the Jan Lokpal is to prevent corruption, address citizen grievances and protect the whistle blowers.

Table 6.2a: Timeline for Jan Lokpal Bill

Year	Purpose	Implications
1968	Lokpal bill was first introduced in the 4 th Lok Sabha	The bill ⁴¹ was not passed in the both houses of representative
1977, 1985, 1989, 1996, 1998 and 2001	Introduced six times again in Lok Sabha with little modifications	The reason for its failure is that it failed to gather required support from the Members of Parliament (MPs). “.....it was a very mischievous draft of the lokpal bill which the government did” – Kiran Bedi, IAC leader
2011	Bill introduced again after IAC movement becomes prominent	It was unable to get the approval from the upper house, i.e., Rajaya Sabha
2013	A new version of bill introduced	Both houses of parliament had passed the bill and now it is an Act but is called a ‘diluted version’

The rising wave of public frauds between years 2008-10 have drawn attention to the urgency of the Lokpal bill to be enshrined in the Indian constitution. Therefore, the timeline of the case, from October 2010 to March 2012, is important, which shed the light upon the public frauds that led to the formation of IAC.

India is the largest democracy in the world; conversely, India has not done that well as far as corruption is concerned. Transparency International (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) in its annual Corruption Perception Index has ranked India among the

⁴¹ In India, for a Bill to become an Act, it has to be passed by the both houses of Parliament and then endorsed by the President of India (as the supreme constitutional authority).

most corrupt countries in the world. In 2011, India was ranked 95 among of the 183 nations listed by the Transparency International⁴². During the 2008-10 period, scam after scam were unearthed that involved the Ministers and high-ranking officials.

The rampant corruption by the public officials and politicians had build-up the deep resentment among the citizens. Cases like 2G spectrum scam (approx. \$25 billion), Adarsh Housing scam, Karnataka mining scandal and 2010 Commonwealth Games scam (approx. \$11 billion) have shattered the public faith in the government (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). In many of the scams, such as the Commonwealth games, the government has ordered just inquiries without ordering investigations, which questions the very intent of the government.

Other than these national scams, many smaller corruption scandals were reported in the media on the daily basis. The sluggish growth of the economy fuelled the public anger to its maximum. It was the perfect fertile ground for the birth of the agitation against the government corrupt.

⁴² Corruption Index by Transparency International. Retrieved on March 2016 <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2011/results>

Table 6.2b: Key Scams during 2008-10

SNo.	Name of the Scam	Specifics
1.	2G scam (2008)	The 2G bandwidth was auctioned by a government minister on the favourable terms to certain related companies, resulting in the \$25 billion loss to the exchequer
2.	Commonwealth Games scam (2009-10)	The organising committee dramatically amplified the expenses done for the organisation of commonwealth games in 2010. The net loss to the exchequer - \$11 billion
3.	Cash for Vote scam (2008)	The Congress party allegedly bribed other MPs to vote for them, to survive a vote-of-confidence in the parliament
4.	Hassan Ali money laundering (2009)	Hassan Ali masterminded to launder \$8 billion through a Swiss bank
5.	Black money stashed away	Post-independence India has lost over \$462 billion in tax evasions, crime and corruption. Most of this money is accumulated in the overseas banks located at Switzerland and British Virgin Island. As per a report from the Global Financial Integrity, between 2004-2009 India lost at the rate of \$19 billion a year.

(Source: India's biggest frauds, Rediff <http://tinyurl.com/nsf4oww>)

6.2.1 Organizational Structure

The core group of the civil society members who were called "Team Anna" conceptualized the formation of India Against Corruption. Team Anna comprised of six core members:

- Anna Hazare (Social Activist)
- Arvind Kejriwal (RTI activist and former IRS officer)

- Kiran Bedi (NGO activist and former IPS officer)
- Prashant Bhushan (Supreme court lawyer)
- Shanti Bhushan (former Union law minister)
- Santosh Hegde (former Supreme court Judge)

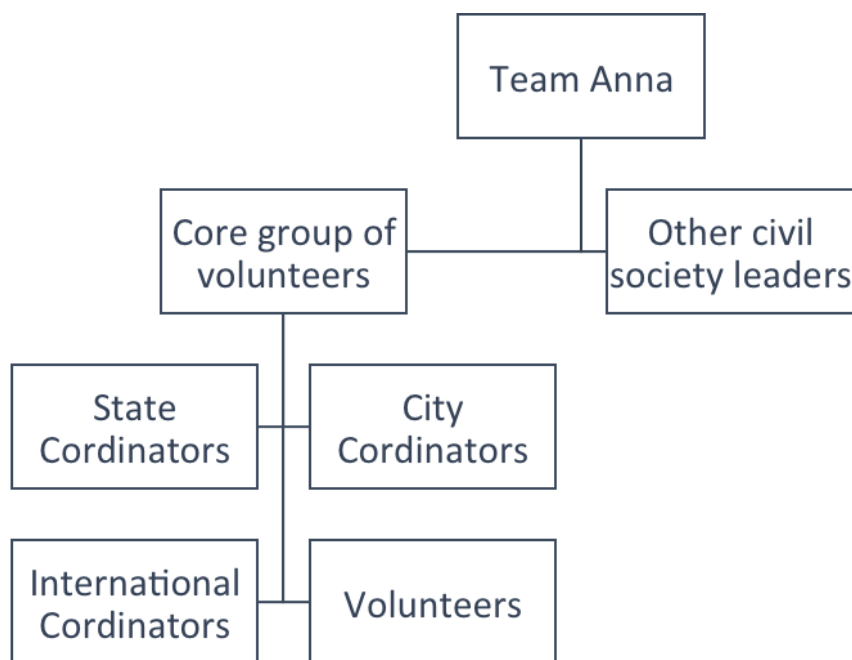
IAC jointly decided that Mr Anna Hazare would be the leader of the movement. Mr Hazare is now 78 year old (73 year old in 2011), a prominent Gandhian, who had served in the Indian Army till 1975. He is a noted activist who had led many movements related to the transparency, promotion of rural development, the model village and investigations of corruption in the public life. To serve the public-at-large, he decided to remain a bachelor and to sever all the ties with his family.

For his work, Mr Hazare was bestowed Padma Vibhushan (3rd highest civilian award in India) in 1992 (Goyal & Marshall, 2013). He was touted as the second Gandhi by the media across the world. His profile was “perfect” to lead the agitation against corruption (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). People precipitously saw the ray of hope in him; they thought that if Anna could be fasting at the age of 73, why can’t they join the movement to support him.

Team Anna was supported by the core group of volunteers who were managing the social media, developed the strategy, and has conducted city coordination, venue management, volunteer management, as well as a dialogue with the government, electronic and print media. The role of Team Anna was primarily as the “face and brain centre” of the organisation. They were responsible for negotiating with the government and gathering support from other national/international organisations.

Mr Arvind Kejriwal, considered as the main strategist behind the IAC, headed the day-to-day operations. The core group of volunteers took up the operational responsibility of communicating and coordinating the ground level actions.

Fig 6.2.1: Organisation Structure of India against Corruption



The social media played a vital role in building up the IAC movement. Mr Hazare and Ms Bedi both have admitted that without the social media the whole movement would have been just a flutter. A former journalist Mr Shivendra Singh Chauhan who has left his newspaper job to become a full-time activist; has designed the social media and online strategy. Shivendra was not new to the social media activism; before coming in contact with the IAC, he was running a Facebook group called Commonwealth Jhel (Jhel is a Hindi word for suffering) (Gowda & Prakash, 2014).

The aim of the Commonwealth Jhel group was to highlight the corruption and mismanagement in the Commonwealth games organized in New Delhi in 2010. The group had become the playground for discussions and postings on the incidents

related to corruption. Shivendra was then introduced to Mr Arvind Kejriwal, who was then building a new group to take anti-corruption dialogue to the national level. Shivendra was entrusted to build up the social media profile for India Against Corruption; soon enough he setup a dedicated page for IAC on the Facebook.

6.2.2 Actors and Social mobilisation in IAC

Prior to the formation of IAC, there were efforts by the activists in various parts of the country to raise the issue of the lack of governance and corruption in the public services. Some of the examples are listed below:

- *Commonwealth Jhel:* This was a social media group created to highlight the corruption in the Commonwealth games held in 2010 in New Delhi, India. Later, many of the volunteers of this group were involved as the city coordinators or volunteers for the IAC. The group had around 3500 members on the Facebook page at its peak.
- *Voice Against Corruption:* The name given to the earlier version of the IAC. Voice Against Corruption evolved into the IAC when many smaller groups and individuals joined the movement.

An informal meeting was organised at the end week of October 2010 to gather a group of volunteers to discuss their concerns regarding corruption in the public spaces. During the meeting, it was decided to establish a protest group called “India Against Corruption”.

The initial proposal at the meeting was to write letters addressed to the President of India and the Congress party leader Mrs Sonia Gandhi; urging them to bring a strong law against corruption through the introduction of the Jan Lokpal bill in the

parliament. A several more meetings were organised by the group to discuss the strategy and conduct the follow up actions to the letters.

The group was quick to adopt the online presence; a Facebook page was created immediately to start an online debate on corruption. *“I have created the Facebook page 2-3 days after the meeting”*, Shivendra Singh Chouhan, member of the core volunteer group. The next step was to organise the physical meeting to show the strength and mobilise people. IAC leaders invited people to participate in a public rally organised at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi on 14th November 2010, which was attended by a modest crowd (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). The organisers of the public rally also invited the noted civil society members and activists such as Kiran Bedi, Anna Hazare, Baba Ramdev, Sri Sri Ravishankar, Sawmi Agnivesh to share their views on the issue of corruption. Immediately after the rally, the group tried to file a First Information Report (FIR) with the police against Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dixit for fostering corruption in the Delhi state government, but the police did not accept it.

In the initial phase, the IAC was not having much support on the ground; therefore, they have piggybacked upon the other groups, like the one managed by Baba Ramdev (noted yoga guru). Baba Ramdev through his Yoga discourses had a huge following across the India. *“I think there was very major role played by Baba Ramdev because he had a national base we did not have any base also, that we were now complimenting each other's voice, he focused on black money and we focused on the law and this how it was coming together”* Kiran Bedi, IAC leader.

IAC became the “common platform” for the civil society members to come together and to pool their resources together. Most of the leaders were working in the non-profit sector for the social cause; therefore, they had their own followers. Through IAC, they have mobilised their followers towards the common goal. This rally marked the birth of India Against Corruption, and the majority of the leaders present in the rally decided to work under the banner of the IAC. Actors such as social activists, Social Movement Organisation (SMO), NRIs, local businesses, judiciary and government played a vital role in thinking, understanding the situation of anti-corruption for protest into action using both online and offline strategies.

The purpose of mass support was to negotiate with the government on the full-fledged implementation of the bill rather than a diluted bill with ineffective implementation. IAC became the primary actor in the social mobilisation. IAC included several sub-groups of people such as Team Anna (the leaders), the core group of volunteers (leaders + key volunteers), other civil society leaders (influential partners), state coordinators, city coordinators, international co-ordinators and other volunteers. Another actor was the government with which the negotiation of the bill has to happen, and the third actor was the society-at-large. Several large industrial houses and individuals also endorsed the movement (Bedi & Choudary, 2013; Goyal & Marshall, 2013). The other principal actor was the media - the movement spread the message using social media tools and mass media. According to Bedi and Choudary (2013), at one point, almost 43 news channels were covering the hunger strike that instantly made it a huge national issue. Growing support from Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) raised the voice of the movement internationally (Goyal &

Marshall, 2013). In the later sections, several examples are given where NRIs have organised rallies to register protest and have raised funds.

6.3 IAC: Rise and Decline as a Temporary Organization

Traditional models of forming Social Groups, such as meetings, annual conventions, dandi marches, were not used as a tool for forming a social group by the IAC team. Rather a Facebook page was the first social media tool used to communicate the happenings and to gather user support. The objective was to reach a large share of the population in a most cost-efficient manner.

At the initial phase, the posts placed on the IAC Facebook page had limited reach and they were “liked” by just a few people. As the popularity of the IAC grew over a period of several few months, the Facebook page has gained the prominence. Williams, Stewart and Slack (2005) highlighted similar problems in using new technology for social learning “*little understanding of how to match emerging technical capabilities with potential user need*” (p5). This can be clearly reflected when the reach of the group was limited to just a few people, well known within the network of the members who organized the group.

6.3.1 Innovative strategies

To boost the user engagement, several innovative strategies were initiated. For instance, an online spoof “Cull the Corrupt Awards 2010” was announced. These eye-catching and stimulating methods have inspired young people to participate in the online debate.

Table 6.3.1: Innovative strategies boost to the online and offline participation

Innovative Strategies	Details
Invited nomination on the Facebook (online strategy)	Facebook users were asked to send their nominations for the following categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Most Corrupt of the Year-Male• Most Corrupt of the Year-Female• Biggest scam of the Year• Shady Deal of the Year• Sham of the Year
March Against Corruption (offline and online strategy)	Using the Facebook, online events were created where participants can join the rallies. Facebook is used for the promotion and marketing of the rallies
Networking and reminders (offline and online strategy)	Using Facebook's Events feature, once the people agreed to "join" the rally, an automatic reminder was used
Operational Website (online strategy)	It involved volunteers' help in creating the website that could provide information on the Jan Lokpal bill and other documents; Developed Email database

It was decided at the November 2010 meeting that a protest rally "March Against Corruption" would be organized on 30th January 2011. Using the Facebook, online events were created giving information on where the participants can join the rallies. For instance, when the volunteers in Mumbai have created an event giving details of the rally at Azad Maidan, it became easy for anybody to find this information. The

volunteers through their personal Facebook accounts had shared this event within their network, so interested people were able to join it by clicking “join”.

Similar events were created in several other cities, such as Delhi, Jaipur, Pune, Nagpur, Bangalore and New York. In total, about 52 cities in India and a few in the foreign locations that have participated in the 30th Jan 2011 protests. The biggest protest was organised in Delhi, where over 20,000 people came in support of the movement. Largely, the crowd was mobilized through the offline canvassing but online engagement was also increasing day by day. Through the Facebook “event” feature, once the people agreed to “join” the rally, an automatic reminder was sent to the individual as the event date approached.

The group decided to build an operational website, to put the information regarding the Jan Lokpal bill and other core documents to the thought process. Since there was no core expertise available within the group, external help was sought to prepare the website.

One of the volunteers took the initiative to develop the website for IAC. *“I have working knowledge of computer I am a programmer, so I know about these everything so they really needed a troubleshooter to help them. They were not able to pay anyone, my role as I started was to create the website make sure that its working”* Cyril Gupta, Website Administrator for IAC. The modus operandi behind creating the website was to reach out to the maximum number of people through the online medium and to continuously update the information about the protest.

Subsequently, once the volunteer based increased, the city coordinators started to build up their email databases and, in some cases, the volunteers had access to

the larger email database. The email notifications were sent and weblinks were shared with the target segment. The target segment consisted of interested people who have shown interest in the movement, either through the Facebook page, or through the website, or because they have participated in the rallies organised by the group in different cities. During the initial stages of the protest, the primary objective of the campaign was to “educate” people about Jan Lokpal and how Jan Lokpal can solve the corruption problem in India.

“I am member of various other groups. Being technology savvy, I can access their various logs, member list and pull out the data. Similarly, many groups maintain the member list and phone numbers in their folders. So, I could get hold of their database. This agitation being of national interest, so using the anonymous email id, I used to distribute the messages to these groups” – Anonymous, Volunteer Activist.

6.3.2 Localisation

Adoption of the Facebook from the national to the local context (Robin Williams et al., 2005) was another challenge in-front of the Anna’s team. Volunteers in the cities were identified with the exceptional crowd-mobilizing capabilities. The core “local” team usually consisted of 5-6 volunteers with a good network among other activists.

“Local” activities of the IAC had started in many cities in India. For instance, in Pune, a group of six people have met each other and have decided that they should be a part of the movement. *“All six of us not from background of being social activist. My friend Somani was businessman himself, I was in business myself, there were two other engineering students”*, asserted Deepak Barodia, a businessman and IAC activist. In such newly formed volunteer groups, some people were known to each

other, whereas others were “redirected” to meet each other by the Facebook coordinators in New Delhi after receiving requests to join the movement in their respective cities.

The question of “credibility” of the protests had started to arise as the movement grew in size; though there were leading civil society members and activists supporting the cause, yet the overall participation from all the stakeholders (like politicians, corporate leaders) was missing. Deliberately the political class was not allowed to participate in the movement, as the leaders of IAC wanted to keep the movement “apolitical”.

The volunteers have decided to take the endorsements from CEOs, industrialists and other prominent people in the country, to build up the credibility of the movement. An email database was created, consisting of the corporate bigwigs that included numerous multi billionaires and industrialists. An email was sent to them explaining the objectives of the group and the reasons for the protests. A few industrialists, such as Mr Azim Premji (Founder of Wipro - a \$10 billion software company) and Mr Ratan Tata (Chairman of TATA Group - \$150 billion corporate house) responded to the email and supported the cause. These email responses gave an unprecedented morale boost to the campaigners.

Shivendra Singh, who was the Facebook administrator, roped in the “active” Facebook members as “city-coordinator” of their respective cities. These were people who were ardently participating in the activities of the group. Many of them were known to Shivendra through the *Commonwealth jhel* Facebook protests in 2010. On the ground, civil society leaders of IAC, like Kiran Bedi, Anna Hazare,

Arvind Kejriwal, have initiated smaller meetings, raising the awareness about the Jan Lokpal bill and IAC. Slowly and steadily the campaign was building up. At the peak of the campaign in April – June period of 2011, the “Likes” on each posts have risen to the average 15 – 20 thousand people with the hundreds of “shares” and forward.

6.3.3 Anti-Corruption Bill

“Andolan” is a Hindi word that means revolution. Mr Hazare announced the movement as the “second freedom struggle” – freedom from corruption and from lack of governance (first Indian freedom struggle has been finished after gaining independence from the British in 1947). The government rejected this demand. Mr Hazare, frustrated by the government response, announced a hunger strike from 5th April 2011.

Mr Hazare announcement of the hunger strike in favour of the anti-corruption bill was like a fire in the forest. The IAC that was enjoying just a moderate success till January-February period; but Mr Hazare’s announcement has galvanized the imagination of the Indian people and they have started to throw their weight behind the IAC. Table 6.3.3 described the major dates during which IAC has developed as an organisation of international fame, involving the mass population both in India and Internationally.

Table 6.3.3: Timeline for Indian Against Corruption Movement

Important dates	Involvement	Purpose
Oct 2010/Nov 2010	Initial meeting of the IAC group leadership	Civil society members came together to form a group to highlight the corruption in the public service and fight for the implementation of Jan Lok Pal Bill
Jan 2011	“March against corruption” organised in Delhi	The rally in Delhi has demonstrated the seriousness of the movement.
Feb, 2011	The Group submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister with the request to constitute a joint committee comprising of the civil society representatives and the government nominees to draft Anti-Corruption Bill	The civil society members wanted the joint committee to have a draft anti-corruption bill that would have given the sweeping powers to the Ombudsman to prosecute and to ensure severe punishment for the corruption
April, 2011	On 5 th April, Mr Hazare has announced a Hunger Strike after the government had rejected the group’s request	Mr Hazare announcement of the hunger strike for the anti-corruption bill was like a fire in the forest, involving mass population in India
June 4 th , 2011	Baba Ramdev (a prominent Yoga guru) announced a protest in Delhi Ramlila Maidan. The venue was booked for 40 days of protest.	The aim of the protest was to highlight the need for a legislation to repatriate black money invested in the tax heavens outside India.

June 9 th , 2011	Mr Hazare has conducted a one day fast to warn the government	Mr Hazare gave the 15 th August 2011 (India's Independence Day) deadline to the government to finalize the draft and get it passed by the parliament.
Late June, 2011	Kiran Bedi has recorded a video message of the Mr Hazare's fast	The video message was released to the media and posted on the social media. The video message further sparked the mood of the people around the world.
August, 2011	The final push for the Jan Lok Pal bill. Mr Hazare started his fast-up-to-death. He was arrested and sent to jail. He continued his fast in the jail. Government was caught by surprise, and eventually gave up the fight.	IAC reached its peak. At certain estimates, 400 million people were mobilized during this time. India has not seen any protest of this size in the recent memory.

The group's leadership have started to analyse the challenges and strategies to take Andolan to the national and international levels. The next major event for the IAC was 5th April 2011 Andolan. Facebook played a major role in spreading the word for April Andolan; it was a combination of Offline and Online "new practices" that worked in the developing capacity, as well as the usage of technology by mass population for a common cause. These new practices are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Williams et al., 2005 have noted that *“Success of new ICT products does not simply reflect functionality and price, but also the extent to which they are compatible with skills, understanding and habitual practices of potential users”* (p16). Anna’s Management committee have measured four possibilities to foster participation of mass population from across the event to supporting the movement:

1. ICT tools that are easy to use
2. Low cost of tool for sustenance
3. Compatible with skills and understanding of the Indian population
4. Funding to support the infrastructure

Unfortunately, there were no cadre or political support with the group, so raising funding was one of the biggest challenges. India is a large country with over 600 districts and having population of over a billion people. The issue in question was the scalability - how to reach out to each and every district of India. To achieve the purpose of spreading the message among the mass population for Anti-Corruption Bill, the specific strategy needed to be derived. To start with it, funds were needed to fund the infrastructure and develop an ICT product but it was found that the social media can play a significant role in achieving this cause.

6.3.4 Initiatives taken and their impact at the initial stage

The following initiatives were taken to develop the awareness and involvement of mass population in the Anti-Corruption bill.

Initially, a market analysis has been performed to understand the role of the media in India. IAC decided to focus on the urban class, because it was easy to communicate with them through the phone, SMS, social media and even traditional

media. The traditional media such as newspaper and TV have more presence in the urban areas than in the rural areas due to their availability, affordability, infrastructure and reach. On the other hand, social media tools, such as Facebook and Twitter, were moderately popular in India in 2011, and the majority of urban population the concept of the social media was fairly new. In 2011, mobile phone usage in India was growing; since then India is the second biggest user of the mobile technology after China.

To build the support and sustain the momentum for the April Andolan, mainly mobile phones and SMSs were used. The method adopted was based on a simplistic principle – create a “people-to-people-network”. *“We asked people to forward the SMS to 5 people they know and request them to forward further to 5 people”*, Shivendra Singh, IAC activist.

The main message from the leadership that needed to be conveyed was shared on the Facebook and subsequently forwarded to the city coordinators and the volunteers. The volunteers further forwarded the message to their friends, family and the activists. The SMS campaign went viral; millions of messages were forwarded to the people across the country. *“We didn’t have any database or phone list for April protests, we worked with our supporters to spread the word”*, Shivendra Singh, IAC Activist.

On 5th April 2011, Mr Hazare started his hunger-strike; 150 people from the civil society joined him for the fast. For the first day only 500 people turned up for the protest. At the first day, media presence was insignificant; the media was a bit “lazy”

in covering the event; perhaps the media has never thought about the intensity of the protest.

As the day passed by and Mr Hazare's situation has deteriorated (he was not even drinking water), thousands of people were starting to flock the venue. By the end of the fast, there were over 43 news channels covering the event (Goyal & Marshall, 2013). *"People were taking leave from the work to join the protest, it was remarkable"*. Suresh Pathare, Key aide of Anna Hazare.

These initiatives taken up by Mr Hazare had the drastic impact in spreading awareness and involvement of mass population into the Anti-Corruption campaign. Till 4th April, the Facebook group have had a modest size of around 20,000 people. After Mr Hazare's fast had began in Delhi, the media started covering the event 24x7 like the "reality show". The popularity of the Facebook page grew at that time, from 20,000 to 200,000 in just a few days. By August 2011 the Facebook group was having over half a million followers.

The protest has spread across the country, and the number of people supporting the movement was growing by the thousands-per-hour. Overnight, the India Against Corruption movement has become the "only talking" subject in the mass media (Gowda & Prakash, 2014). Millions of text messages were also sent and the chatter on the social media was unstoppable. *"Our website was unable to handle the inquiries, so it crashed several times There were over 100,000 visitors coming per day or may be more. I don't have correct stats but, we can safely assume over 40-50 million people must have visited the website during the entire year"* Cyril Gupta, Volunteer Website Administrator.

On April 8th, the government has bowed down to the demands of the protestors and has issued a notification to form a joint-committee comprising of five government nominees and five members from the civil society. The joint committee mandate was to draft the “acceptable” Jan Lokpal bill and present it to the parliament. Mr Hazare ended his 98-hour hunger strike on the morning 9th April. He gave three months’ deadline to the government to finalise the agreements, failing which he promised to continue these protests.

6.3.5 Initiatives taken and their impact at the maturity stage

After the hunger strike in April, the India Against Corruption movement has caught the attention of Indians living abroad, also known as the Non-Resident-Indians (NRIs). NRIs organised series of protests, marches and rallies, and funds were raised for the IAC.

One of the greatest challenges of running a protest group is to acquire resources and funds to maintain the momentum. IAC has adopted unique methods to raise funds. The main sources of their funds were the donations from the public. IAC volunteers put-up fabricated corrugated boxes and kept them at the venues of the rallies and the meetings. Public Cause Research Foundation (PCRF) was the Non-Government-Organisation (NGO) founded by Mr Arvind Kejriwal, that was used as a back-end for all the activities. PCRF office was de-facto headquarter of the IAC and their bank accounts were used for the collection.

Though the IAC was quite “advanced” in using the technology and social media to raise the awareness about the campaign, their methods of collecting funds were primitive. *“No there was no method of online donations..... the donations were strictly*

through bank account transfer the donations were directed to bank account of PCRf and they could make a bank transfer”, Cyril Gupta, website administrator.

The fund generation was focused on the activity/event basis. For instance, a protest in Mumbai required banners and pamphlets to be printed for Rs 15000. An appeal was placed on the Facebook page for raising the stated amount. *“We were telling people that this is costing Rs 15,000, this our cost. We used to keep the box there and people can put the money. As soon as we collected the 'budgeted' amount, we stopped taking donation”* – Suresh Pathare, key aide of Anna Hazare. The fund was used for food, water, t-shirts, etc by the activists. Many supporters donated the “in-kind” stuffs, *“Lot of people put the food stalls & named it 'Anna ki rasoi or Anna's kitchen' to distribute free food. Trucks and trucks of potatoes & vegetables were distributed”* – Dada Pathare, activist and personal assistant of Anna Hazare. The major portion of the donation was given in-kind rather than in-cash.

Funds worth millions of rupees were collected during the process from different sources, including private donations. A level of “trust” was high among the volunteers, though the transparency was missing from PCRf as far as the collections was concerned, *“We never knew whatever was going into bank account whatever they told us we believed there was no reason to misplaced data we trusted them more than anybody else they told us 25 – 35 lakhs and that was fine .. but I think there was more money given to chunk of money given to them”, Cyril Gupta,* website administrator. The volunteers trusted Mr Arvind Kejriwal that he would make the “right use of the funds”. At the later stage of the movement, differences have emerged between the leadership over the management of funds and the transfer of IAC funds to form a new political entity.

A major portion of the money was invested in the “management of technology”. The SMS campaign was not free; it involved a significant cost for the IAC. Netcore Technologies, a private management consulting company, was entrusted to manage the SMS campaign and missed call alerts. Netcore was charging IAC cost-to-cost for managing the missed calls and the SMS campaign. The cost per SMS was around 2 paisa (1 Rupee has 100 paisa) i.e INR 1.2 million (GBP 12000) per day. *“All the technical cost was paid by the PCRf, NGO run by Mr Arvind Kejriwal”*, Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies. *“We collected around Rs 35 million during the year; we spend over Rs 15 million on SMS/missed call campaign”*, asserted Suresh Pathare, the key aide of Annan Hazare.

At the local level, the volunteers primarily contributed the resources. During rallies or protests, the arrangements for water, food, etc. were collectively conducted by the supporters. Additional expenses, such as banners, t-shirts, tent arrangements, were done by the contributory efforts. IAC central team was unable to provide any monetary support to the people at the local level.

Baba Ramdev is a popular yoga guru in India, with the millions of followers. He has estimated that up to 1.4 trillion USD worth of black money was stashed away by the Indians over a number of years (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). He had announced a parallel protest on 4th June, to highlight the need for legislation to repatriate the black money stashed away in tax heavens outside India. The government, already wounded by the April Andolan of IAC, took a serious note of the Baba Ramdev protest. On 5th June 2011, police cracked down on the protest at the “midnight” and dismantled the venue. Thousands of protestors were hurt by the sudden police raid;

they were later charged and lobbed by tear gas shells when they were sleeping at the protest venue.

Mr Anna Hazare called the midnight crackdown as “strangulation of democracy” (PTI, 2011); he announced one-day fast to support Baba Ramdev. The April Andolan and crack down on Baba Ramdev’s June protest put government in a tight spot. The discontentment of people was rising day-by-day. Between April and August IAC started a massive outreach program both in online and offline modes. The key leaders, such as Kejriwal, Hazare and Bedi, have travelled extensively across the country to organize rallies and meetings, to explain their stand on the Jan Lokpal bill.

On August 16th, Mr Anna Hazare decided to proceed with his fast-unto-death at JP Park in New Delhi. Section 144 of IPC was imposed in several parts of Delhi including JP Park, the venue for the hunger strike. The police detained Mr Hazare and his supporters before they can reach the venue. They were remanded and sent to Tihar jail for seven days after he refused to sign the personal release bond.

Mr Hazare started his fast in the jail and declined to cooperate with the jail authorities. Authorities kept Mr Hazare for three days in the jail in hope that things would mellow down; however, hundreds of thousands of people came outside of the jail to support Anna. Fearing a civil unrest, government bowed down to Anna, to release him without conditions and allowed him to hold protest at Ramlila ground for the next 15 days.

Anna started his fast-unto-death at Ram Lila maidan at New Delhi; he appealed to the people to visit their parliamentary representatives at their “homes constituencies” to request them to support the Jan Lokpal Bill. Over 100,000 people

were estimated to be present at all times at Ram Lila Maidan. Similar demonstrations were organized across India and abroad; for instance, in Pune, local activists organized a hunger-strike at the town centre from Aug 16th – 28th 2011. The Prime Minister gave assurances to Anna for starting the debate in the parliament and asked him to end the fast.

On 25th August (9th day of the fast), Mr Hazare put forward three demands before the Prime Minister and the parliament - Citizen's Charter, Lokayuktas⁴³ in all states with Lokpal⁴⁴ powers and inclusion of lowest to highest bureaucracy (Bedi & Choudary, 2013). On 27th August, the parliament started the debate on the Jan Lokpal bill. Both the houses of parliament passed a resolution accepting all the preconditions set by Mr Hazare. On 28th August, Mr Hazare ended his 12 days / 288 hours fast. He was shifted to a hospital for recovery. In the 13 days during his protests in New Delhi, it is estimated over 5 million people physically visited the venue (Bedi & Choudary, 2013).

6.3.5 Initiatives taken and their impact at decline stage

In August 2011, the IAC team decided to stop the SMS campaign due to the recurring high cost. The IAC team strategically shifted their focus towards “feeding” the messages to the media. Those messages were displayed prominently across the media channels. The media was also used to gather “public opinion”. For instance, IAC team decides to conduct a bike rally on a particular day/date, at which the public was asked to vote YES or NO. Similarly, public opinion was sought on the critical policy level issues, like IAC stand towards government’s response.

⁴³ Lokayuktas or commissionaires are the ombudsman at the state level

⁴⁴ Lokpal is at the national level

Every time that the government has agreed to a demand of the activists, the volunteers cherished the “victories” by organizing candle marches and rallies. After April, Andolan symbolic candle marches were organized in all major cities. Gowda (2013) calls it the “power of symbolism”. At the end of August, after Mr Hazare fast, it was decided to celebrate the success of the agitation by organizing victory march in all major cities. In Pune, for instance, over 250,000 people participated in a half a day long march in the heart of the city. On 18th August, a similar victory rally to celebrate Anna’s release from jail was organized in Mumbai – the rally was 5 km long. *“Mumbai has never seen such rally ever”* – Sanjay Bordkar, Volunteer and activist.

After December 2011, visible differences started cropping up among the core team of IAC. Arvind Kejriwal, convenor of IAC, has decided to enter into the mainstream politics, whereas Anna Hazare was against it. Kejriwal made it quite clear about his intentions to form a political party and many of the leaders from IAC decided to join him. That decision effectively “splits up” the India Against Corruption team. The split up was not conducive; it raised many dissidents in the party, volunteers raised questions and some of them felt betrayed. *“We were getting hints that they are building this foundation to form a party but like this first saying we will do fast until death and then doing nothing. We felt it was all played as game”* – Deepak Barodia, Businessman and Volunteer activist. There was a strong “emotional connection” between the volunteers and IAC, mainly because IAC was an apolitical organisation. That emotional connection has become a political agenda, which made volunteers sad about the split.

Mr Kejriwal eventually floated a party named “Aam Adami Party” (Common Man Party). They made their debut to emerge as the second largest party in the Delhi elections in December 2013, winning 28 out of 70 seats, which put them short of the clear majority. Since no political party was having the clear majority, the re-elections were conducted in 2015. The Aam Adami Party won the unprecedented majority (one of the highest in Indian history) winning 67 out of 70 seats. The previously ruling party in the centre Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has won just 3 seats, whereas the Congress Party was unable to win any.

6.4 Role of Media and Social Learning

Williams et al. (2005) have highlighted the use of technologies in the local context in their research, which is replicated in the case of IAC.

“If technology was not there, we would not have achieved so much. Because of technology, we were able to develop the movement. We may not be able to trace and verify everybody, but that person was with us. They got connected through SMS, email, twitter, Facebook. Even today when I write a blog, 70,000 people read it at once. If we had used technology, so many people would not have read the blog. We were able to reach out to people and it was constantly growing. Millions of people have participated” – Anna Hazare, IAC leader.

IAC social activist appropriated technology in a unique manner by localising the innovation of existing digital artefacts and tools – missed call, sms scratch card and Facebook features were exploited to configure distinctive solutions. Despite the resource constraints, IAC volunteers were able to take support of the local experts to appropriate technology to carve out local innovations, some of them emerged as a

practice. IAC reconfigured the social phenomenon known as missed call with the help of a local firm Netcore to engage with millions of potential supporters thus ensuring inclusiveness. Similarly, SMS concept was a new tool for sustainability of social movement in a resource constraint environment and used for regular updating of IAC campaign information to the supporters. As Norman, (1988) pointed out, the new affordance of the mobile phone (missed call and SMS) is explored with the assistance of the local experts (individuals or a firm) to create new solutions and practices. Local experts (volunteers) such as website developer, database expert, telecommunication specialists, social media expert have used their skills to engage with IAC to unlock specific affordances of tools that are discussed as part of the case.

The IAC online strategy was based on “learning by doing” (Gowda & Prakash, 2014); their social media mobilization was focused on an “event” or an “activity”. The thought process behind the online engagement was to educate the people about the movement and Jan Lokpal bill, and to engage them in a particular activity. This section summarizes online and offline strategies used by the Anna team to achieve the purpose of creating and involving mass population in passing the Anti-Corruption Bill in the parliament. IAC invited external experts to join the team since there was no expertise available within the team. The Facebook page has eventually become one of the biggest “Liked” pages in India, with over 1.3 million followers after the fast of Anna in August 2011. The IAC social media group sought support from other large Facebook groups, like ‘Growing India, Growing Ourselves’, to expand their reach to a larger section of the society.

The first challenge of the group was how to distribute the information related to the discussion and decisions by the leadership team. Facebook IAC page became the medium for posting the photos, videos and important information related to the IAC. The Facebook page was managed by the group of 10-12 “administrators”, who were constantly approving the messages from the people and posting the photos/videos coming from all over India. The role of the admin was to check the flow of the messages and verify the “intent” of the messages – whether the messages are positive or abusive. All messages were accepted if they were posted in correct languages; messages with the malicious intent were deleted and such posters were banned by the admin.

The second challenge of the group was that while they were able to gather known civil society members at the top, at the ground level they didn’t have much support. Shivendra Singh Chouhan, IAC Social Media Administrator, used his network of online friends who were “active” during common wealth jhel online discussions. The contacts were established with these active volunteers across India, and a few of them were appointed as “city coordinators”. Some of these volunteers were later given an additional responsibility of the “state coordinator” of IAC. Facebook was used as a ‘recruitment’, ‘training’ and ‘information dissemination’ tool by the new city coordinators. In the bigger cities, local city coordinators have created their own Facebook pages, whereas, in the smaller cities they used “Facebook groups”. Facebook group is a group where one can invite his friends and his friends can invite the others.

6.4.1 Facebook and Social Media Practices

The Facebook was smartly used to “leak” the “insider” information and for spreading “strategic rumours”. On 16th August, when Mr Hazare was sent to Tihar jail, the group has noticed that there is not enough support in front of the jail at night. The lack of public support deters the media channels in covering the event.

Shivendra and his team have started propagating strategic rumours through the Facebook page. This activity had started at 9 pm on the Facebook; the team was “appealing” to the people and spreading the rumours, like that Mr Hazare will be airlifted from the jail to Pune, and he would not be allowed to leave the jail. They appealed to the public to assemble outside the jail in big numbers and to block different gates. People used the Facebook comments to share or gather the information about the venue, coordinators, time and agenda. The “activity” based mobilization was a great success on the social media.

Other than the “official” IAC national Facebook page, the volunteers shared “local” information created at many city focused pages. Pune, Mumbai, Lucknow, London and New York were certain examples where local Facebook pages or groups were created. The local information was mainly related to the news about local protests, rallies, incidents and views from the leaders. Though no specific guidelines were given to manage the local Facebook pages, yet, the central team kept an eye on them through the city coordinators and local leaders.

Compared to the Facebook, Twitter was in its infancy in India when India Against Corruption movement has started in 2011. Facebook was a more popular medium than any other social media tool. There were few other tools, such as Orkut and

Yahoo Chat room, but their acceptance was limited to niche audiences.

Nevertheless Twitter users did use it for promoting the cause and spreading the awareness. *“Hashtag” #IndiaAgainstCorruption was one of the most important social hashtag in Indian social media history. It is where the collective consciousness of whole country erupts into a movement.* – Arnab Gowasami, Famous TV Anchor.

The social media acceptance has matured and expanded as the IAC started getting prominence in the public. New volunteers offered their technical expertise to IAC, such as an Android app was developed by a group of volunteers. Local volunteers found their own ways to exploit the free services offered by many popular service providers. For instance, Google had a service by which one can send free text messages to a group or to a select number of people (now this service has been discontinued). Google service was also used extensively to send messages among the local volunteer group.

Table 6.4.1: Key online practices taken by IAC

SNo.	Particulars	Online Action
1.	Facebook as a tool for recruitment of talented volunteers	The administrators identified the volunteers who were “active” participants. Additional responsibilities, like city coordination, were given to them.
2.	Facebook as a tool for training and information dissemination	Facebook was used to train new volunteers in the far-flung locations
3.	Facebook groups for specific cities, activities or communities and for sharing local information	Specific groups pertaining to the city, activity or community were able to channelise the information in an efficient manner.

4.	Twitter Hashtags	Hashtag #IndiaAgainstCorruption was quite popular. International media were able to immediately pick up the tweets from the activists and leaders for the reports
5.	Social media tools, such as blogs, YouTube for propaganda	Extensive use of the social media for propaganda, to push the offline action

6.4.2 Missed Call as a Practice

“Missed call” is a term used for a cellular call that is deliberately terminated after few rings by the caller before the recipient receives it. The call is shown as “missed call” on the cell phone of the receiver. The missed call is a popular method of “silent” communication in India and few other countries in Asia. The missed call in India sometimes being called “the poor man messaging system”. By giving a missed call, the caller is not spending any money, but still a message is communicated. A few examples of the missed calls and silent messages related to them are:

- Single missed call by a friend means – *come out I am waiting outside*
- Two missed call by a friend means – *I am running late*
- Taxi drivers give a missed call to the client when they arrive to pick up the clients

Lately, the missed call has found its way to the commercial ecosystem. In 2015, Twitter acquired India based company Zipdial in a \$30 million deal. Zipdial pioneered the commercial missed call concept in India. Many banks, retail companies and even politicians used the missed call to connect with the customers. ICICI bank – a

leading Indian bank, advertise to their customers to give them missed calls. Once a customer calls them to a designated phone number, the call is disconnected and then, in a while, the customer receives a call back from the ICICI sales team explaining them about the products. According to the ICICI bank manager, people prefer giving missed calls to save on the cost of calling and the bank absorbs that cost as the cost of sales.

Till 2010, the missed call was largely a social and cultural phenomenon. It was never used as a “tool” for “political protests” or to drive a momentum. India Against Corruption was the first activist organisation to exploit the use of missed call to gather support. IAC team realized that the online social media tools have a limited reach, primarily to the young educated urban class. IAC leaders knew that to become a truly national level movement, they need to connect to the people living in the rural areas, towns and practically in all the corners of the country. The people in rural areas have limited or no access to computers /Internet / social media. Conversely, the majority of the population had access to the mobile phones. The “inclusiveness” of the missed call provided an opportunity for the poor and rural folks to participate in the protests. *“My maid is semi-literate, but she told me that I have given missed call to this (IAC) number”*, Shewta Saxena, volunteer and activist.

The group roped in the expertise of digital marketing company Netcore Technologies. The Founder and CEO of Netcore Mr Rajesh Jain was a follower of Anna Hazare, and Arvind Kejriwal also knew him. He had agreed to support the cause by providing his company’s infrastructure and expertise. A special number (022-61550789) was issued and a dedicated server was setup in Mumbai to record the traffic (Exhibit 1).

The number was prominently announced at the rallies, on the posters and in the social media communication. The traditional media flashed the number on the TV channels and newspapers. Their modus operandi was simple - people who wish to support the cause would have to give a call to the dedicated number; after a few rings the call would get disconnected automatically. The senders will receive an automatic text alert on their mobile phones asking for further information about them; e.g., their name, location, age. If a supporter calls from the landline, which is incapable of receiving the text message, it would receive a call from the volunteer requesting further information. After receiving the information from the sender, the database was subsequently updated. The numbers were then segregated on the basis of the regions and states.

Netcore has had access to the “additional authenticated” database that they have collected over a period of time from different sources. The database was used by the Netcore to service their commercial clients. *“We suggested them to use our missed call solution and also use our mobile database”*, claimed Abhishek, Manager Netcore. The text message (SMS) was generated, saying that if you support IAC, please make a missed call on this number and also forward this number to a few more people. *“Netcore has a proprietary database of over 8 crore mobile numbers (80 million), we send the messages to all these numbers”*, Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore. In response, the team has recorded 25 million missed calls, out of which 19 million were unique numbers. *“We assume that most of the people forwarded the message to 3 people they know”*, told Abhishek, Manager Netcore.

During the initial days of the movement, the IAC teams were not adequately trained or having capacity to run the massive campaign. *“We designed our systems*

based on the optimal missed calls we expected to receive, but once the campaign gains momentum, that optimistic figure becomes less than conservative figures”, Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies. Though the Netcore technologies team was technically capable, yet they have never run such a massive campaign in such a short period of time. The team had to upgrade their system to tackle the rush. The second challenge that the team faced was “over-enthusiasm” from the public, as people were giving repeated missed calls, probably to show their extra support for the movement. The technical challenge associated with the over-enthusiasm is “duplication of data”. Therefore, the duplication check was employed at the backend, to ensure that database remains clean and duplicate acknowledgements can be avoided.

Missed call as a “product” was fairly new to Netcore technologies. They have tried the product with a few small commercial clients in the past but this was the first time they were using it to such a large population. *“We integrated missed call as call-for-action in our product bouquet in 2011”.* Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies. Prior to the missed call coming as a “call-for-action” product; SMS or Text messages were used with a “short-code” or “long-code” version for the call-for-action.

For example, in a reality TV show, if a sender wished to vote for a particular participant, the sender has to key-in a specific code on her mobile phone and send a text message to a special number provided by the reality show organisers. After the text message is send on a special number, the vote is recorded. The senders account is debited with the cost of sending the message (text messages are not free).

In a missed call scenario, the call-for-action is a special number; the sender gives a missed call to the special number and his vote is recorded (missed call is free). The missed call by the sender is considered as “intention to participate” or in the commercial terms it is called “intention of buying”. *“The SMS keyword versus missed call response is about 2-3 times more”*, Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies. In the case of SMS short-code/long-code campaigns, the “sheer effort” of typing the message sometimes defers the individuals from sending the message, whereas, in the missed calls, the effort is lower, with no cost implications.

Table 6.4.2: SMS vs Missed call

S.No	SMS	Missed Call
Technophobic Segment	People are not comfortable in sending long-code/short-code messages.	It is a useful tool to reach out to the people who were “technophobic”. Giving a missed call is easier than to type a message or send an email.
Rural areas with limited literacy	SMS is language dependent and handset dependent. Most of the time, the low cost handsets do not support local languages, hence the message is garbled.	Easy for the rural people to participate in the action. Calling a particular number is very easy and does not need much literacy.
Media participation	Media was running their own “voting” campaigns, such as reality shows. However, it was limited to	Traditional media seamlessly flashed the missed call number through TV, radio and newspapers across the country

	the educated urban population	
Zero cost	The SMS on the special number cost around Rs 3 to 5 per SMS.	The cost of the missed call is zero; therefore, no additional burden on the people who cannot or don't want to afford the call cost
Access to the Proprietary Database	SMS were send to 80 million numbers in the database	Netcore was having proprietary mobile number database, that has given head-start to the IAC to reach out almost 25% of the Indian population (assuming one message forwarded to 3 more)
Push / Pull	SMS is a “push campaign”, the SMS are pushed to the database	Missed call is a “pull campaign”, where user is motivated enough to initiate a call
Spreading the message	SMS was used to spread the message and create viral phenomenon	Missed call is looked as a closer engagement, confirmation and participation by the user

The missed call phenomenon for the IAC spread virally across India. IAC were also able to connect to the users that were not a part of any database or calling list. As per Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) regulation, a mobile user in India can sign for the National Do Not Call Registry (NDNC). Once the user gives a

missed call, he expresses his “intend” or “opt-in”⁴⁵ to receive messages and information from IAC. This express of intend bypassed the NDNC status for the IAC campaign. *“Most of the middle class and students in metro have NDNC signed up, but the missed called provide the opt-in status to receive messages from IAC”*, says Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies.

The cutting-edge technology was used to capture the missed calls - a landline number was given to the IAC because a landline (or a hunting PRI⁴⁶ line) can simultaneously capture 30-missed calls at a same instance. The technical team monitored the numbers and servers carefully, so that not a single missed call was lost due to the system overload. There were instances where up to 10,000 missed calls were coming at the same time; hence the infrastructure was modified accordingly to ensure that every call is recorded. *“Every time a missed call is recorded, we sent an immediate acknowledgement to the call”*, Avinash Pant, Vice President Netcore Technologies. The next challenge in front of the team was how to “engage” with the people who have given the missed call or have registered using another medium, like website or Facebook. *“There were people calling us and saying, we have given the missed call, now whats next”*, Shivendra Singh IAC Social Media Administrator.

The acknowledgement message was designed to further communicate with the user. The user had an option to become the volunteer and then he/she has to send a long-code SMS back to a particular number. *“We were able to filter between millions*

⁴⁵ TRAI allows opt-in for six months for the users who have signed for NDNC. After the expiry of six months, re-opt-in has to be sought.

⁴⁶ Primary rate interface

of supporters and volunteers”, Abhishek, Manager, Netcore Technologies. The IAC team and copyright team of Netcore technologies jointly created the content. Once the number had been captured, the details were further shared with the state-representatives of IAC. State representatives distributed the details as per the city or town, to involve the potential members. The database collected was cleaned by the Netcore team and divided into various segments. The IAC team used that database to send communication on the activities related to that particular circle or city.

Missed call since then has emerged as a viable commercial method for mass communication and consumer connect. Rajesh Jain, Founder Netcore Technologies and Amiya Pathak, Founder, Zipdial thank IAC for making missed call a commercially viable option. The linkages to the commercial missed call practice is discussed in next chapters.

6.4.3 SMS

For the IAC, the SMS campaign has become the technology backbone. Through the SMS and mobile communication, the group was able to communicate directly with the user. The highly effective database of the IAC has included about 20 million people who have opted-in to receive the messages from IAC. After the personal details were captured, the database was used to send information regarding donations, activities, protests and leadership quotes. The database was primarily segregated by the circle and region. The state heads were able to send messages related to the activities done in their state.

In the July-August 2011 period, more than 4 to 5 SMS were send to the entire database on a daily basis, making it almost 100 million messages a day. These

mass messages, mostly communiqués from the leadership, were forwarded further on an average of 3 per user (estimated around 300 million messages a day at the peak of the movement). The SMSs were used to gather public opinion on the critical matters. For instance, people were sent the message like ‘Do you agree Team Anna should agree on the government terms?’ send YES or NO. *“Missed call and SMS was used to generate the 'trend' of the people, what people wants to say”*, Suresh Pathare, key aide of Anna Hazare.

The local activists used SMS to convey the key communication, rally venues, protest dates and meeting places through SMS. SMS has become the most commonly used communication medium at the local level. The principal advantage of SMS was that it is easy to draft and forward to other persons. The persons receiving it can review and read it at their own convenience.

Throughout the campaign, IAC was able to gather millions of validated mobile phone numbers. At the later stage, IAC realized it is not sustainable to keep sending messages, as the cost was too high therefore, it was discontinued. In 2012, IAC introduced “Anna SMS Card” for Rs 25 per card. The SMS card is like pre-paid phone scratch card ensuring that holders of the card are informed about IAC campaign’s activities for a year. The users have to SMS the serial number of the scratch card to 9223334545 and they will be given regular updates of IAC program for a year both in Hindi and English. The main distribution points for the cards were decided as Delhi and Chennai with a clear message that no profits will be derived from selling or distributing these cards. Once activated, the scratch card allowed the user to receive SMS and updates from the IAC for entire year (Exhibit 2). Around 10

million cards were produced, though the data is unavailable on how many cards were eventually sold.

6.4.4 Role of Media

The media was somewhat a late participant in the IAC juggernaut. India being a democratic country, political protests, rallies and meetings are the integral part of the everyday affairs. The media does not take protests seriously unless the protests are organized by the political heavyweights.

IAC was a youth centric movement; most of the people associated with IAC were the “unknown” faces in the political arena. At the beginning, the media coverage was limited to non-prime time as a regular story. *“They (media) didn’t believe that somebody could actually come from Facebook on the streets”* – Cyril Gupta, IAC website administrator. During that time, it was difficult to comprehend that the mobilizing started on the social media can be converted into a serious mass protest at the national level. But once the media have started to take it seriously, the coverage was like a reality show.

The SMS campaign was expensive; it was consuming most of the money collected by the IAC. Therefore, in the late August 2011 it was decided to stop the SMS campaign and rely more on the media channels for opinion gathering and feedback from people. IAC started using the media smartly, the leaders fed them the stories through the network of journalists that snowballed into major viewership for the IAC (refer to table 6.4.5).

6.4.5 Offline Strategy

The offline action started simultaneously with the online action. The online support was provided to make offline action possible. Many methods were adopted to communicate with the people who were not on the social media or not in the loop of mobile technologies. For instance, the “postcards and handbills” were printed by the volunteers with the fax number to the Prime Minister’s office to send a request letter for bringing Jan Lokpal bill. Local activists organized their own small campaigns to gather support. For instance, the Pune team has organized the signature campaign, bike rallies, candle marches and weekend meetings all across the city.

People were keen to see the online mobilization associated with the offline action. Most of the local efforts were “synchronized” with the national agitation when Mr Hazare was holding a fast or a particular action was to be taken. During the “peak agitation” months, i.e., between April 2011 and August 2011, to keep up the momentum, local volunteers organized various activities.

The outreach strategy was devised like by the experienced politicians running a re-election campaign. *“We mapped out Pune among 20 regions. We decided that we would do rallies in these regions in next 10 days. People will get to know about the agitation”* – Deepak Barodia, Businessman and volunteer activist. The bike rallies, candlelight marches and weekend meetings were constantly organized to keep people in the loop. Event photos were prominently shared among the social media that would motivate other volunteers to do something similar in other cities.

“I think a turning point this entire event was covered very well by IAC (facebook) page and then I think the people who were watching the page had a sense of reality

that this is not a virtual this is realand that was I think the turning point of entire thing” Cyril Gupta, IAC website administrator.

Table 6.4.5: Key Offline Practices and Actions by IAC

SNo.	Particulars	Offline Action
1	Hunger Strike	A hunger strike is a non-violent Gandhian method adopted by Anna Hazare.
2	Rallies	Rallies across India to protest against the government and establishment
3	Bike Rally	Bike rally was popular among the youth. On a bike, a group can cover a large city area in a short time
4	Candle Marches	A symbol of unity (Exhibit). It was convenient for the working class to participate in the action in the evening after work.
5	Victory Marches	Show of strength and unity. After every successful negotiation with the government, victory marches were organised across India.
6	Participation by weekend and part-time activists	The major rallies and strikes were organised by keeping in mind the working weeks of the people. The strategy paid off well.

Much success of the agitation can be attributed to the “part-time” activists or “weekend activists”, who were doing their day job and supported the cause by participating in the activities in evening or weekend. *“Many of our volunteers were doing job, there were students. No body was the 'full-time' social activist here, all of us were newly introduced part-time activists”* – Deepak Barodia, Businessman and

volunteer activist. In most of the cities, the online interactions happened on a daily basis but the physical interactions were limited to the evenings or weekends.

The protests against the establishment always have certain repercussions (Brysk, 2013; Ray & Katzenstein, 2005; Shah, 2004). *“Many people did not come in front fearing backlash, because they said this is part of the system to bribe, we have to run our business..... There were many (I won't name them), who wanted to be discreet.”* – Deepak Barodia, Businessman and volunteer activist. An IT professional who supported the movement did not come forward due to the “non-participation” policy announced by his company. He feared losing his job. Instead, he has created a pseudo id or fake id on his email to send mailers to his database promoting the cause. *“During the initial phase of movement, people have to make the sacrifices, they have to contribute but that also results in backlash and their personal life is disturbed. So, I want to protect myself at the same time I wanted to contribute (towards the cause)”*, IT Professional (choose to remain anonymous).

There were issues and concerns pertaining to the privacy and security of the volunteers participating in the IAC movement. Some of the people in the email group and Facebook group were “forcefully included” without the consent, as they were part of the group. Similarly, the SMS messages were sent to the whole batch of people without their wilful consent. Social media does not provide safeguards against the forceful inclusion, unless the profile is designated as private and is not visible to anybody.

The majority of the volunteers were fearless and they participated wholeheartedly. There were many who faced the repercussions of being a part of the

group. Authorities did some crackdown on the volunteers and many of them were charged with section 144 of IPC under “un-lawful assembly” or for organizing rally without permission. Many volunteers, including professionals and students who were actively involved, had to forgo jobs, studies, businesses and even family life for a long period of time. That affected both their professional and personal lives.

6.5 Chapter Summary

India Against Corruption was the single-issue group formed to highlight the issue of corruption in India. The focal point of the protest was to pressurise government for passing anti-corruption bill also known as Jan-Lokpal Bill. Once the central objective was partially achieved, the group adapted into the new formal entity – a political party called Aam Aadmi Party (AAP). IAC was in existence for the duration of 12-14 months, though the activities peaked for only 4-5 months. The aim of the group was to form IAC as a temporary organisation to overcome government corruption. Interestingly, in IAC, instead of the more traditional tools of communications for political activism; new tools such as Facebook, were extensively used. IAC case have demonstrated how technology is appropriated and reconfigured by the social activist for sustainability of group.

India Against Corruption (IAC) has emerged as an important case of social activism in India. The case has shown how large social activist groups have smartly used “missed calls” and “SMS” to address the problem of long pending (for over 50 years) anti-corruption bill (Jan Lokpal Bill) in India. IAC was conceptualised by the core group of civil society members called “Team Anna” and run by the thousands of volunteers.

The case used a mix of online and offline strategies, such as inviting nominations for the “most corrupt of the year award”, were sent on the Facebook. “March against corruption”, networking and reminders were examples of mixed online-offline strategies. A few of the volunteer created an operational website to provide information on Jan Lokpal Bill. The group faced various challenges, especially related to the localisation (domestication) of technology. After rejection of diluted Jan Lokpal Bill as drafted by the government, the leader of IAC Anna Hazare went on to sit for fast-until-death.

To involve the people in the movement, Team Anna commissioned an innovative method of engaging the population. To promote localisation of technology, affordance, easy availability and outreach of anti-corruption campaign, IAC decided to focus upon urban class through phone calls, SMS and social media. A market analysis was carried out to understand the usage of the media within that class and its impact.

To sustain the momentum, a “person-to-person” network has been created – one person communicated with another set of persons, and so on. The great challenge was faced in sustaining the campaign, such as the lack of trained manpower and duplication of data. Team Anna engaged external experts, such as a firm called “Netcore Technologies”.

Extensive outreach through the traditional media and the social media was carried out – 43 news channels covered Anna Hazare’s fast, and millions of people supported IAC on the social media. The government eventually bowed down to the demands of the IAC; however, the government did not kept the promise. IAC had to

stop the SMS campaign due to high cost. During the end of the campaign, one group broke away to form the new political party named Aam Aadmi Party (AAP).

The online tools, such as Facebook and blogs, had been used for recruitment, training and information dissemination and for performing specific local activities. Twitter hash tags, social media tools, blogs and YouTube videos were also employed.

Understanding how “missed calls” were used as a method of outreach is one of the major contribution of this case. Missed calls can be seen as an example of localisation of technology coupled with the low-cost implementation. Subsequently, missed call as a successful use-case in the social activism paved the way for more mature commercial operations of the future. The case also presented a comparison between various new media tools, such as missed calls, SMS and Facebook. Additionally, there were many offline strategies, such as hunger strike, rallies, bike rallies, candle marches, victory marches, etc., that fuelled the IAC game plan.

Exhibit B



Fig 1: A poster released by IAC showing famous cartoon character 'the common man' to give a missed call



Fig 2: Advertisement posted on Facebook for the Anna SMS Card



Fig 3: Candle March



Fig 4: Bike Rally



Fig 5: Anna Breaking his fast



Fig 6: Huge rallies organised by volunteers

Chapter 7: Analysis and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the findings of two empirical case studies: the Pink Chaddi Campaign and India Against Corruption through the theoretical lens of the Social Shaping of Technology perspective (Williams & Edge, 1996). The analysis focuses on the emergent socio-technical practices, how single issue groups in India developed and enhanced grass-root communication drawing upon concepts of social learning and temporary organisation. Another aspect of analysis emphasises upon frugal innovation – how the SIGs have been able to configure available technology to develop a sustainable solution to meet their purposes.

An extensive literature has emerged in recent years on the link between (new) social media and new social movements (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Bennett et al., 2014; Gerbaudo, 2016; Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015; Sen et al., 2010). Much of these writings emphasise the transformatory potential of the new technology and see online communication as bypassing the constraints of the traditional organisation. The two cases studies – the Pink Chaddi and IAC have provided important examples of emergent socio-technical practices that have been adopted across the spectrum. This inquiry has provided us with the insights on the convergence of the online and offline media (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013).

The thesis gains insights from the social shaping of technology perspective (Williams & Edge, 1996) – that is used in particular to highlight processes of appropriation (Hirsch & Silverstone, 2003; Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992)– the active

role of users in fitting technology to their context and purposes – and also the concept of the affordances of technology (Conole & Dyke, 2004; Gaver, 1991; Gibson, 1977; Sen et al., 2010) to highlight that these uses are not evident but need to be discovered by the user in often extended process of trial and error social learning (Sørensen, 1996). In the course of the study, other concepts such as frugal innovation (Radjou & Prabhu, 2015; Radjou et al., 2012; Tiwari & Herstatt, 2012) and open innovation (Baldwin & Von Hippel, 2011; Von Hippel, 2001) are explored pertaining to the innovative practices appropriated by the social activists. I am drawing upon the social learning scholarship (Bandura & McClelland, 1977; Lie & Sørensen, 1996; Williams & Stewart, 2006; Williams et al., 2005). In particular, I explore how these processes unfold in the context of what (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995) describe as temporary organisations. After looking at the empirical evidence through the lenses of literature and theory, I was able to fill in the gaps in the previous research results.

While designing this research, and doing the fieldwork, I was quite fascinated to observe the diversity of possibilities emerging out of this research. And I was not disappointed; my work has produced exciting results and useful contribution to the STS scholarship. As part of the analysis of the empirical material, I have done the critical interrogation of the data; further, triangulation of data was done to ensure the authenticity of the evidence. I have robustly identified the number of cases that were coded into meaningful analytical segments. The segments were further grouped into the emergent themes.

The literature review opened up the gaps, forcing me to think on the issues such as the role of the social media, general media, innovation, volunteering and of

technology in the social activism. Through this research, I was not only able to answer the desired research questions but have also found ample opportunities for the future research. The explored cases and the resulting data follow four principles:

- 1) An analysis of appropriation of technology by single-issue groups and their different affordances;

- 2) A narrative of the emergence of new socio-technical practices and their dissemination;

- 3) An analysis of the technology and new media and its impact on the strategies adopted by the activist groups; and

- 4) An analysis of the development of new structures - such as communication, political or social structures.

Coming back to the research questions, the main aim of my research is to investigate how new media/tools are appropriated, with their different affordances, helping in constructing distinctive organisational forms in the Indian social movements. Another research question was to identify how new practices (socio-cultural, technical) arise and disseminate. To answer these research questions, I started looking at the accounts of how new social media would transform political organisations; the techno-utopian accounts had a strong technology determinist theme that did not account for the multiplicity of ways in which technology was (differently) appropriated in different settings. I have identified the social learning processes through which SIGs explored the affordances of available media for their particular arrays of communication requirements. I was also impressed by the extent

to which these players were able to deploy available resources (technologies, ideas about how these might be deployed, local experts) to create specific assemblages of practices and ICT tools. In this way, I developed the concept of creative configuration – a smart customisation of technologies by help of local experts to find a solution for SIGs. Creative configurations use the principles of social learning (Sørensen, 1996) in resource constraints environments to develop low cost smart solutions.

7.2 Themes, Analysis and Discussions

Yin (1994) explained the logics of data analysis from two perspectives: “Each case must be carefully selected so that it either (a) predicts similar results (a linear replication) or (b) produces contrasting results but for predictable reasons (a theoretical replication)” (p 46). I am able to find the linear replication logic in the cases of IAC and Pink Chaddi as discussed in the literature (for details see Table 7.2.3) – one is traditional movement that has exploited the use of ICT and other is born digital campaign. Cases chosen for the study were the important early examples of innovative use of new media by SIGs. During my fieldwork I discovered that cases provided exceptionally good context for the study of appropriation and an understanding of innovation that attended to in explaining temporary organisation structure and how creative configuration concept emerged to resolve the issues through adopting innovative practices.

After careful data analysis, several themes appeared, they were grouped further to be consolidated into five emergent themes. In the first theme, I am discussing the relationship between the Social Shaping of Technology framework with technology appropriation and innovation. The second theme explored the similarities between

temporary organisations and single-issue groups. I am arguing that single-issue groups behave like temporary organisations and in this context, the emphasis is on their increasing dependence on technology for sustainability. The arguments in the third theme find the influence of media on political communication. Theme four provides a major contribution for this thesis and proposes a new concept called "Creative Configuration". In this theme, I am arguing that the temporary organisations such as single-issue groups borrow general purpose infrastructure and, with the assistance of local experts, they creatively configure this infrastructure to develop solutions and new practices. Theme five discusses the emergence of new practices and role of local experts.

7.2.1 Technology appropriation, Innovation and relationship with Social Shaping of Technology (SST)

The scholars are forever intrigued by the concept of innovation that is well grounded in the STS literature. Williams and Edge (1996) criticised the linear model of innovation and forced us to look beyond technology as a 'black box'. The empirical data examined in this thesis addresses the various SST potencies such as socio-economic, socio-technical, cultural and environmental, etc. My research demonstrates that the linear model of innovation does not work in the dynamic settings such as social activism, it further confirms the Williams and Edge (1996) perception about the continuous exchange between society and technology that shapes its outcome. The SST framework reminds us that the mutual shaping and coupling of technology opens up the new avenues of adoption and innovation. New models of innovation and success of these innovations are influenced by the

environmental factors (internal and external), choices made by the group members and other multiple forces that shape the innovation.

This study reinforces Gaver (1991)'s "notion of affordance" as he suggests that it is not merely the design that defines the affordance of an artefact but the interaction with the human beings. The study relates to Norman (1988) argument of 'everyday pushing', and Gibson (1977) thought of valued culture, experience and learning for affordance. The technological artefacts such as mobile phones and social media tools were differently afforded while dealing with social activists. In the Pink Chaddi and IAC cases, I have presented examples of technical affordances that shape distinctive practices. As the Pollock and Williams (2010) points out the "exploitation" of affordances of complex technology, social activists borrow expertise from other sources to redevelop their information and work practices. The administrator of IAC Facebook page took advantage of the newly introduced event feature that allows volunteers to sign up for the publicised protest, giving the opportunity to engage and mobilise large-scale volunteers. This we can call the 'co-evolution' of users and the technological tools (Conole & Dyke, 2004; Scanlon, 2010). In developing country like India, these groups have first time exploited the use of mobile phones and social media network at such a scale.

As discussed in the literature, Gibson (1977) draws our attention towards 'real affordance' and 'perceived affordance' - the real affordance refers to the intended use of the product; while some of the other affordance can be perceived by actors in different circumstances is called perceived affordance. In this thesis, my key argument is how single-issue group appropriate new ICT media and services to create different type of affordance. In my cases, the appropriation of new ICT media

and service is a continuous negotiation (Bar et al., 2016) between the local experts to develop the technology, social activists, and other stakeholders affected by the technology. This affordance not only creates new organisational forms but also appropriate media for wider usage. In both IAC and Pink Chaddi case - real and perceived affordance were visible. The real affordance of mobile phone is to 'communicate'; however, IAC activists used it to gather the support for the cause by giving missed call. The missed call concept not only resolved several issues by creating new appropriation of technology by tweaking their features to fit their needs (Papa & Papa, 1992) also referred as technology reconfiguration. The new affordances of mobile phones by the activists for missed call and mass text messaging for mustering support at low-cost, less time consuming, reliable and replicable in nature.

Technology such as mobile phones and TVs are well integrated into our daily lives; however, users incrementally develop innovative uses of the products and services to make technology suitable for themselves and their community (Williams & Stewart, 2006). Social activists learn to exploit the technology and adapt it to suit their life practices. The contextual and creative use of the technology has given us opportunity to understand the participatory design (Scanlon, 2010). Though the technology innovations are affecting the lives of people economically (Hirsch & Silverstone, 2003), socially and culturally over last several decades, but still, the domesticated technologies are widely influenced by local context, culture and community behaviours (Lie & Sørensen, 1996). The empirical data presented in the cases support the central hypothesis of domestication and affordance theory is that

technologies are integrated into our daily lives; the users of technology and their environment change according to the technological innovations.

As mentioned above, the domesticated technologies are contextual, so are the identities, as Farnham and Churchill (2011) called them 'faceted identity'. I found in both the cases the online and offline identities were rather integrated than separated. The activists were able to share the information about the protests to their 'friends and family' using social network (Facebook etc) and multiple other social platforms. Their role and demeanour do not change significantly as they move from being offline to online, however, it was observed that they assumed an 'additional' role of being the social activist in addition to their daily-jobs. The online medium has created more opportunities for the social activist to express themselves and share the information without any constraints (social, political or monetary). Pink Chaddi was the virtual movement that needed to interact with face-to-face world to collect chaddis; also needed to protect the physical security of women at handover points and protect the identities of the women involved. In IAC – starting as a mass movement – ICT was used to extend the reach to the distant supporters via SMS. Nisha Susan, Arvind Kejriwal and Kiran Bedi played a different role prior to the start of the movements. Nisha Susan was the journalist, Arvind Kejriwal was running the NGO, Kiran Bedi was the former police officer and so on. During the course of the campaign the online and offline role were continuously negotiated (Vieweg et al., 2015) and adopted as the situation demanded - they adopted the additional role of an activist when the social settings changed. The skills acquired by the individuals during their daily lives come handy while assuming the role of an activist – these skilled individuals do the role of local experts (Stewart, 2007) as necessitated.

Barring one of the interviewees, as he was afraid of the backlash from the employer, everyone in the interview list has assumed his/her own real identity while treading online. The disclosure of the real identity in the virtual world builds the trust among volunteers and followers, which is important for the success of the movement.

Social activists decided on their "choices" based on the events to be tackled and other factors influencing the events. IAC and the Pink Chaddi strategies were based on the learning by doing (Arrow, 1962); their social media mobilisation was circled about the event or activity. Social activists learning as they go along with their activities, the learning took place in an attempt to solve the problem, therefore, coming up the innovative use of the technology. Du Gay et al. (2013) suggests that the interpretation of technology and its application determines its success or failure. Evidence suggests that the different settings in which technology was applied by the social activists, for e.g. contacting volunteers for protest rallies in various cities using social media, in many places it was a great success and other places it was not.

As per Herbold (1995) conception of "society as a laboratory", people learn from each other and influenced by the ideas and practices that are prevalent in their social environment (Markus, 2008). In the case of the Pink Chaddi, Nisha Susan started the Facebook page and within hours' thousands of people from all over the world joined in to support the cause. Joining Facebook for the protest at such a large scale was the new phenomenon for India at that time. People learned from their connected friends who were sharing the post about the new group to support women. Similarly, in the case of IAC, volunteers invited their friends in the network to urge them to join the movement. They extensively used social media tools to educate and recruit new volunteers. Social media, though meant to connect with friends, have found an

alternative use to lodge protests and build the volunteer base. Another example is the way social activists in both cases used mobile phones to ensure wider participation. The appropriation process is a continuous negotiation (Bar et al., 2016) and seamless reconfiguration to distribute its benefits. Social learning of technology (Sørensen, 1996), as demonstrated by the social activists, is a 'powerful innovation mechanism' (Bar et al., 2016) within their social, economic and political practices.

A: Social Activists as Frugal Innovators

Social movement scholars argue that innovation happens due to changes in external/internal settings (Wang & Soule, 2016). Both the case studies of the Pink Chaddi Campaign and IAC have demonstrated diverse uses of technology for social activism, using the fundamentals of frugal innovation (Radjou et al., 2012). The funding has always been limited for social activist campaigns; volunteers and leaders had to devise low-cost mechanisms for spreading the campaign message such as the creation of a people-to-people network, to organise and to disseminate the information. Also, the interaction had to be made with the different classes of people (rural, urban, various local language, etc.); therefore, simple mechanisms were required for continuous communication. Consequently, using the media and Internet technology, social activists devised relatively straightforward but powerful methods to reach their goals frugally related to funding and exchanges.

In the IAC Case, a notable feature of the examples presented here is how practices adopted by social activists de-facto aligned with the principles proposed by (Radjou et al., 2012) for frugal innovation, as exemplified in particular by the development of the missed calls system for communication and collaboration. The focus on the core-needs (ie. opportunity for outreach with the potential activists) and

simplicity of missed call is the 'innovative fix' that worked for the IAC. Jugaad is not always 'hack' or 'work-around' solution; Jugaad innovation model is a sophisticated 'out-of-box' method for maximum utilisation of available resources to produce the best option cost-effectively (Radjou et al., 2012) in a resource constrained environment.

Coming back to IAC, the volunteers came up with other low-cost methods, such as bike rallies, leaking information to the media, requesting the answers from the people through media polls, thus encouraging people's participation were also extensively used. Innovation is not about IT or new media – it was a pervasive approach. Another example of the appropriation of the media and frugal innovation was team Anna's use of the media power to reach out to the masses. The media flashed the missed call number on the TV channels and printed it in the newspapers. Innovative technology solutions arise from adversity when the resources are scarce. In the Pink Chaddi case, volunteers used available resources such as YouTube, Facebook to 'leak' insider information and spread 'strategic rumours' and also to share or gather critical information about the venue of underwear collection, coordinators, time and common agenda. Never in India, social media is exploited for protests on such a large scale.

The empirical evidences presented in this thesis confirm that systematic innovation does not work in single-issue groups in India. I disagree with (Krishnan, 2010) that suggests developing country like India should move from frugal innovation towards systematic innovation. The temporary nature (and resource constraints) of the single-issue groups does not allow them to design systematic methods to foster innovative practices for longer term. I would agree with (Intarakumnerd et al., 2002;

Jauhiainen & Hooli, 2017) that systematic innovation does not work in developing countries context, especially in settings that I have studied. For organisations such as IAC and the Pink-Chaddi, neither they have resources to invest in systematic innovation nor they have patience to wait longer to see the results. Therefore, SIGs have to selectively reconfigure those technologies that can provide very advanced services to them for quick results.

Thesis exemplifies that we can go much further that frugal innovation is much more than grass-root approach. Given proper infrastructure, advanced technology applications can be developed from the approach. Through the framework proposed in the next sections, I can assert that the local experts can reconfigure the technologies as per their needs and develop the solution most suitable to their environment.

7.2.2 Communication Exigencies of Single Issue Groups as Temporary Organisations

Building upon the debate whether social movements represent a formal or an informal organisational structure (Diani, 1992; McAdam et al., 2003; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Melucci, 1989; Touraine, 1985; Turner & Killian, 1957), the single-issue cases presented in the research have shown characteristics of temporary organisations. Looking back at the literature, there is a discussion on the how technology plays a significant role in social movements (Amin & Roberts, 2008; Buur & Jensen, 2004; Diani, 2000). However, previous literature has overlooked the similarity between single-issue groups as a temporary organisation which supports in explaining the characteristics of single issue group. The Pink Chaddi and IAC were founded as single-issue groups that were continually 'temporary', whereas IAC

transformed itself into the more institutional form of a political party. Further, the role of technology (such as social media) in temporary organisations is largely under-investigated (Rimkuniene & Zinkeviciute, 2014) and it lacks empirical evidence. I have substantiated through my research that there exists a similarity between the temporary organisation and single-issue groups. I have examined how technology came to play a vital role in communication, collaboration and growth of temporary organisations such as SIGs.

I am testing the Lundin and Söderholm (1995) framework that propose the segregation of permanent and temporary organisation, as "time, task, team and transition" and have described the difference between the two as: "Permanent Organizations are more naturally defined by goals (rather than tasks), survival (rather than time), working organization (rather than team) and production processes and continual development (rather than transition)" (p441). From the empirical evidence and comparing with the available literature, I can establish the emerging similarities between single-issue groups and temporary organisation. Further, this supports my argument that temporary organisations such as single-issue groups rely heavily on the technology for the achievement of their goals.

The next subsection A would discuss in details about the emerging similarities between SIGs and temporary organisations. In the following subsection B, I am arguing that technology acts as 'catalyst' for the growth of the temporary organisations.

A: Emerging similarity between Single Issue Groups and Temporary Organisations

“Entrepreneurial acts are temporary in nature” (Rasmussen & Sørheim, 2006, p 87). Single-issue groups are entrepreneurial in nature usually started by the group of like-minded activists to resolve a particular problem. Creativity, self-reliance, initiative taking and action orientation are the essence of entrepreneurship and also in social activism. Projects are usually associated with achievements of particular aims, and behaves like temporary organisation. Similarly, the argument is single issue group should function like temporary organisation to achieve single goal in socio-technical context (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2003; Rasmussen & Sørheim, 2006; Zahra, Rawhouser, Bhawe, Neubaum, & Hayton, 2008). In this section, Lundin and Söderholm (1995) framework is tested with the empirical data from the cases.

- I. Time** – The existence of the Temporary organisation is for the limited time, till their central objective is met (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995).

The importance of time and speed in achieving the organisational objective – the Pink Chaddi and IAC were formed to resolve a particular issue. The life of the Pink Chaddi campaign was only for the few months, whereas, IAC survived for over a year. Given the paucity of time, it is imperative to have the timely achievement of the objectives. In both the cases, group organisers have faced significant issues in sustaining the momentum, for which speed and appropriate actions were necessary. Collective action is the topmost requirement for the temporary organisation to achieve goals in short-period of time. Further, most of workers and employees of the organisation work on the voluntary basis, therefore, quick success is needed. For instance, the political calendar was the driving force for IAC and for Pink-Chaddi they

were committed to send thousands of underwear on valentine day. Hence, the importance of time is recognised in achieving the organisational objectives.

Unique and long-standing exclusive issues - Both the SIGs – the Pink Chaddi Campaign and IAC, have been formed to resolve the long-standing issues, such as violation of women rights by a group of men using moral policing that dictate old rules; and raising the voice against prevailing corruption in the public service. The debate on these social issues has been aggravated by some 'trigger' points, which activated a single or a group of activists to take these unique and long-standing exclusive issues seriously for the social cause. For the Pink Chaddi, the trigger was the molestation of young women in Mangalore. And for IAC, the trigger was increasing frustration at the failure to address rampant corruption in the government. These groups were ultimately formed as critical problems persisted without being dealt with by the political system to the satisfaction of the general public.

II. Tasks – Task provides legitimacy (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) of purpose to the temporary organisation. Tasks can be equated to the goal of the permanent organisation; however, the goals are designed for decision making, whereas the tasks focus on action (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995).

A limited number of defined tasks - The aim and objectives of the single-issue groups are usually very clear and require a strong response from the society to discuss/debate and act. Correspondingly, tasks in both case studies were also obvious. IAC was formed for the purpose of creating a massive civil protest to force parliament to pass Anti-Corruption Bill. Whereas, the Pink Chaddi Campaign had a goal to teach a lesson to a political entity 'Shri Ram Sene' for forcing women to

abandon their social rights based on the prevailing moral policing rules and conducts.

SIGs promotes public debate on the social issue to expedite internal or external actions - Internal actions in both the Pink Chaddi Campaign and IAC are related to the organisation matters and mobilisation of resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Resource mobilisation referred to the activities for securing new and additional resources and for utilising the existing resources for the organisation. IAC was the common platform used by the civil society's members to pool their resources together; most of them being the leaders of organisations associated with the non-profit sector acting for social causes; therefore, most of the top-IAC leaders (including city coordinators) has had their followers, with Anna being the supreme leader. In both studied cases, tasks were defined and external actions were structured to get involved in the public debate, persuade the audience, conduct discussions with the authorities, facilitate counter movements and generate support from the general public, which ultimately affected the culture of the corresponding movements (Melucci, 1989).

III. Team: Temporary organisations are dependent on the will, commitment and ability of individuals to undertake different tasks. The team in a temporary organisation is formed to execute a task in given period (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995).

High dependency on external experts - Being a non-profit organisation is challenging - resources such as people, central place and funds, to discuss, debate, communicate and sustain a mass campaign without proper support. Therefore, there

is always high dependency on the external experts to manage the tasks. External experts were taken on board to solve the ongoing problems. External experts can be internal volunteers or can be hired for a specific task. In both the cases presented in the research, the external experts advised on the combination of offline/online strategies. For instance, sending Pink Chaddi in packets to the leader of Shri Ram Sene, a hunger strike (i.e. fast until death) by Anna Hazare, Facebook page for the group, mass text messages and Missed Call. The Pink Chaddi Campaign has faced technical challenges in how to involve the volunteers. On the other hand, IAC also witnessed various technical difficulties of spreading a strong message of protest in a country like India, with over 1.2 billion populations in 5,100 towns and 638,000 villages, it was challenging to communicate at such a massive scale. Many of the challenges were overcome by borrowing the external expertise and employing unique, innovative methods.

IV. Transition: Temporary organisations have to be transformed, or changes as a consequence of the tasks completed or before the organisation is terminated. The transition can also be seen as an exploration of aspiration of the temporary organisation (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995).

The transition of the Temporary entity: Temporary organisations and SIGs are usually in existence for a short time; once their limited objectives are fulfilled, the organisation loses its relevance or emerges in another avatar. Members of temporary organisations look for transformative actions and results in shorter duration (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995). The Pink Chaddi campaign has led to the demise of a political entity 'Shri Ram Sene' due to the "distortion" of the prevailing social values; whereas IAC has laid the platform for emerging a new political entity

Aam Adami Party (AAP) that have promised to protect Indian society from corruption. Both social movements lost their relevance as the central cause got resolved. Another factor of rise and demise of a temporary entity is that these organisations are primarily run part time by the temporary workers, volunteers and outsourcing agencies. This is not a sustainable option. Therefore, either the temporary entity dissolves itself, or it morphs into a more permanent structure.

B: Technology as a “Catalyst” for growth of the Temporary organisation

Time is a critical factor for temporary organisations. SIGs have to demonstrate quick wins in short time to achieve some visible goals and to keep the morale of volunteers high. In the literature, it is argued even bigger and permanent organisations look for short-term success to keep the motivation of employees high (Kotter, 2012; Maximini, 2015; Van Buren & Safferstone, 2009). It is observed in both the case studies ‘The Pink Chaddi Campaign’ and ‘IAC’ that achieving quick wins in the short duration by few volunteers was greatly facilitated by using technology. Temporary organisations are more dependent on technology than are permanent ones; technology being a necessary enabler for demonstrating a quick win.

Drawing from literature on the role of technology in communication and collaboration in political space, Garrett (2006) stressed that the technology would continue to play a large role in the success or failure of global protests and demonstrations. Likewise, Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001) observed that online tools had aided the protest politics in going mainstream. Protest organisers find these online tools that cost much less than traditional mass media campaigns to mobilise people (Kwon et al., 2011). Bimber (2003) supports the mobilising role of Internet, as

he argues that with expanded penetration of Internet, people have an option of also expanding their choices. I observed in the cases, though the technology was not the central factor (core issue) for the groups, technology appropriation created new opportunities by resolving the issues for both the Pink Chaddi and IAC.

The social activists had an insufficient number of defined tasks; the tasks were unique and event centric – for the Pink Chaddi and IAC the time was crucial to show the results and prove their existence. Due to lack of internal expertise, specialised resources were needed to complete the given task, hence the reliance on technological solutions was critical. Technology is playing an increasing and important role within the temporary organisation for communication, collaboration, raising funds, mobilising members/volunteers and coordination of the activities. The technological needs of the organisation, in the long term, becomes the commodity and organisations lose its competitive advantage when other entities adopt the similar technology (Carr, 2003). Therefore, having a unique technology is not a gain in the longer term, thus give limited benefit for the permanent organisations.

Temporary organisations configure technology to achieve a short-term competitive advantage (this is defined in more details in later sections). The single-issue group's objective is to reach their goals in the shortest period to keep the morale of the volunteers and supporters high. Technology reduces the cost of operations for a temporary organisation, and it provides an opportunity to reach out to the general customer base quickly and effectively.

7.2.3 Influences of Media for Political Communication

This section discusses the influences of the media on political communication.

Researchers have the diverse opinion about the impact of media (especially new media) on political outcomes. Recent studies find a significant relationship between media, online and offline forms of participation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Grofman & Franklin, 2014), however, it cannot be substantiated that online activism would substitute offline activism. An earlier studies suggested that through online activity (social media) amplify the communication exchange but it does not have much impact on the outcomes (Bimber & Davis, 2003; Norris et al., 2005). Here, I will argue that the media (new media and traditional media) complement each other and reinforces the offline action. Social activists through the assistance of their local experts can influence the use of new media as alternative and innovative communication method over the traditional media.

Social activists do not always have the luxury of getting the attention of the mainstream media. In most of the cases, single-issue groups are small, local and they lack celebrity endorsements. They raise the issue that can be sometimes trivial, community specific or geography specific. Therefore, mainstream media does not find their news "attractive" enough to cover as part of their usual broadcast, or if the coverage happens, it is non-prime and insignificant. Social activists have to relentlessly hammer their message among their followers to keep motivation high. Without the visibility and absence of the public debate, many single-issue groups do not survive very long, and their cause is not adequately addressed by the establishment. To overcome this weakness, IAC and the Pink Chaddi adopted innovative strategies and intelligently used social media to complement the

mainstream media to create propaganda. Table 7.2.3 lists the activities undertaken by IAC and the Pink Chaddi.

Table 7.2.3: Appropriation of Media by Single Issue Groups – India Against Corruption and the Pink Chaddi Campaign

SNo.	Topics	The Pink Chaddi Campaign	India Against Corruption
1.	New Media supports broad participation (Garrett, 2006; Stein, 2009)	Facebook's posts promoted mass community participation for the cause; it was easy to update, comment and provide addresses of the collection points. It was possible with the use of Facebook to reach a wider community with the deeper engagement; however, as Facebook is not a public space on the Internet, the debates and discussions were not 'searchable' through search engines.	In the IAC case, Google free text messaging to a group (this service has been discontinued since) have been extensively used for sending the message to the local volunteer groups. Facebook groups have also been used in certain cities or communities, for specific activities and to share local information.
2.	Low-cost communication and co-ordination (Conole & Dyke,	Communication, coordination, updating, media coverage, group communication, are	Facebook had been used as a tool for recruitment and training of talented volunteers for IAC, which were most

	2004; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2002)	<p>advantageous using Facebook and SMS, yet Blogspot has provided a platform for sharing the views in the public spaces with the searchable options. The shelf-life of a blog is much longer than of online posts on the Facebook.</p>	<p>active participants. Volunteers at the far-away places were trained using Facebook.</p>
3.	<p>Comprehensive Management of the Resources (Diani, 2000; Levi-Strauss, 1966; McCarthy & Zald, 1977)</p>	<p>The management of resources is the biggest challenge for a large online group, such as the Pink Chaddi, which requires being administered by "trustworthy" and "dependable" individuals. It is hard to establish trust among the newly joined members at Facebook pages; therefore, admin responsibility was given to the known members who were connected offline before the agitation started. Volunteers posting messages were divided among three sub-groups: a) those</p>	<p>This is a first case study (as far as author's knowledge is concerned) that claims the extensive use of Hashtag #IndiaAgainstCorruption picked up by the international media and that used as a 'poor man messaging' concept of 'missed call' extensively, to understand and support the cause. In IAC case, city coordinators and state coordinators were appointed. These volunteers started their local pages and provided timely updates from the national pages. The role of these local pages is to provide accurate information about the rallies, protests and messages from the leaders. There was a continuous interaction between local</p>

		supported b wholeheartedly) opposition c) someone attempting to push their agenda. Five volunteers were given the responsibility of being the admin of the Facebook page, to keep the watch on the conversations and happenings on the page.	groups, and national groups were taking for better coordination. Facebook emerged as the leading social media tool for such interactions.
4.	Control of Communication (O. Etzioni & Etzioni, 1999; McAdam et al., 1996; Van de Donk & Foederer, 2001)	The Pink Chaddi group's Facebook page was hacked several times and defaced by posting vulgar messages and irrelevant information. Hackers also posted direct messages to women supporters, to dissuade them. Police seemed to be helpless with the absence of names or faces of the hackers. The group decided to abandon Facebook page and had shifted to Blogspot. It provided security to the messages, as it is a moderated service;	The biggest opposing group for IAC was the government. The government didn't want such mobilisation as it weakens their position. In initial days, they protected the media in covering IAC stories. This was overcome by adopting social media to spread the messages across the country. Another challenge they faced from the traditional political parties. IAC was intruding their political space by turning people against the establishment. Politicians were not allowed, and they were fast losing their clout over their bases. Political establishment did not come

		<p>however, there is a lack of flexibility to post comments compared to Facebook. Therefore, the focus shifted from being purely online to promoting large offline actions.</p>	<p>forward to support them.</p>
5.	<p>Anonymous indirect low-cost resource supporters (Garrett, 2006)</p>	<p>Some proponents, such as a banker, proposed to collect a large number of parcels of the Pink Chaddis but wished to keep her name anonymous. Therefore, to prevent the backlash from Shri Ram Sene, volunteers advised the people who were sending the parcels not to include their names or return addresses.</p> <p>Mainstream media ran articles about the collection points available. These articles and stories were published in the vernacular language in the particular states.</p>	<p>From the outset, IAC team did not have adequate infrastructure and training to run such a massive national campaign. Moreover, they didn't have the technical capacities to set up a website, social media and even to run a missed-call campaign. Thousands of anonymous supporters came forward offering their skills. They took assistance from the external experts to establish some technical activities. For instance, they invited a website developer to setup the website and, later, they received the support from Netcore Technologies to develop their capability for database management. Though Netcore Technologies have never run such a massive campaign in the past, however, the company had</p>

			the technical skills to run relatively large campaigns.
6.	New way of offline activism (Della Porta & Mosca, 2005; Van Laer, 2010)	In this case, physical delivery of the Pink chaddis to Sene Office had been used as a way to demonstrate the anger and disagreement by the women groups in an entirely non-violent way. Donation of Chaddis was collected and being used as an offline strategy, by setting up collection points by the volunteers, mobile collection points by the bike and car collectors and parcel delivery offered by the courier services.	In the IAC case, a hunger strike following the Gandhian model had been adopted by Anna Hazare, as well as the rallies against the government, youth bike rallies, candle marches, victory marches, and participation by the weekend and part-time activists were also prominent. The offline action was well promoted by the new media as well mainstream media giving unprecedented coverage of the cause. Thus, millions of people participated in offline action across India and abroad.

The examples presented in the above tables corroborates Grofman & Franklin (2014) argument that social media is an alternative structure complementing the mainstream media. For team Anna, there have been two opposite options – The first choice was to "buy" the media by placing expensive adverts, television outreach and running a traditional political campaign. The second option was to take advantage of a low-cost-high-impact mechanism that could ensure maximum benefits. As social activists are usually deprived of the required resources, it is the very reason that they also fight for the rights of the downtrodden.

The observations made above, demonstrate how different actors (volunteers, leaders, media, government) have shaped new opportunities for social activist groups. These new possibilities were the action "triggers", and they resolved some the challenges and difficulties; for instance, the assistance of external experts in setting up the social media had triggered the new situation for IAC. Similarly, several choices that were made by the social activists at different intervals have triggered a new path, where they had to configure the technology, environment and tools to achieve their short term/ long term goals. Thus, the empirical evidence provided in the thesis has corroborated how media "facilitated" the "interactions" between different groups in the diverse situations.

There is no doubt that the new media has created possibilities of connecting people at a much faster pace. The mobile and Internet technologies have given an option of collaboration, participation and information dissemination. Organisations that exploit new media for mass outreach programs and evidence gathered here have shown that they have gained substantial success in the achieved outcomes. Also, political affiliations generate deep attachments; hence changing broad political

philosophy is not easy. Therefore, the new media is being used to build the brand of an individual or organisation, rather than for changing political legacy. New media could be used to communicate the ideas, invite members to participate in the target activities and connect them directly with the core of the political process. The role of the social media tools is not merely to be used for the outreach purpose; they have actively and more efficiently be used for identification of new talent, capacity building and capability building. An important observation emerging from this study is that the social media plays the more comprehensive role in the social activism, such as recruitment and training of personnel. The social media has emerged as a more comprehensive medium for continuous engagement with the members of the group; new media reinforces the message and compliments the offline action.

7.2.4 Triggers and Creative Configuration

In the previous literature, there is discussion of the events that can trigger social activism, but in-depth analysis supported by empirical data is missing (Adler-Nissen et al., 2017; Baines, 2010; Baxter & Marcella, 2017; DeMaria, 1992; Saletan, 2011; Scott, 2011) especially pertaining to SIGs in developing countries such as India. The cases in my thesis highlights the creative engagement of actors, deploying resources available in an artful manner to solve particular contingencies – a process that resembles what Levi-Strauss (1966) called ‘bricolage’ (Büscher et al., 2001), or writers in SST label as ‘configuration’ (Fleck, 1988; Geels, 2002; Rip & Kemp, 1998; Williams & Edge, 1996). This section explores the concept of triggers in SIG context and discusses how social activists smartly configure technology to develop the optimum solution that I have termed as ‘creative configuration’.

I have earlier argued that technology acts as a catalyst for the growth of temporary organisation such as single-issue groups. There exists a continuous tension between the technology adoption and the social values of a community. As society embraces technology, many cultural adoptions emerge, such as returning a missed call to a friend to save the cost of the call. Stewart and Hyysalo (2008) have noted that many contemporary technologies, such as ICTs, are "configurations" of the several layers, and many of these layers could be non-technical. These cultural (or technical) adoptions assume the political role when a smart social leader "reconfigures" the adoption and develops it as a political practice. Some of these socially adopted practices can even have a commercial value once they are productised and launched in the market.

As discussed in above sections, innovative organisations have to continuously find new ideas and solutions to engage with their participants; they have to reconfigure their pathways to suit the current needs. Social activists are dependent on the "quick-wins" (Kotter, 2012; Maximini, 2015; Van Buren & Safferstone, 2009) to establish the trustworthiness, credibility and motivation among the volunteers. The success of the social activism is occasionally attributed to winning small battles rather than winning the whole war (Rimkuniene & Zinkeviciute, 2014; Sen et al., 2010).

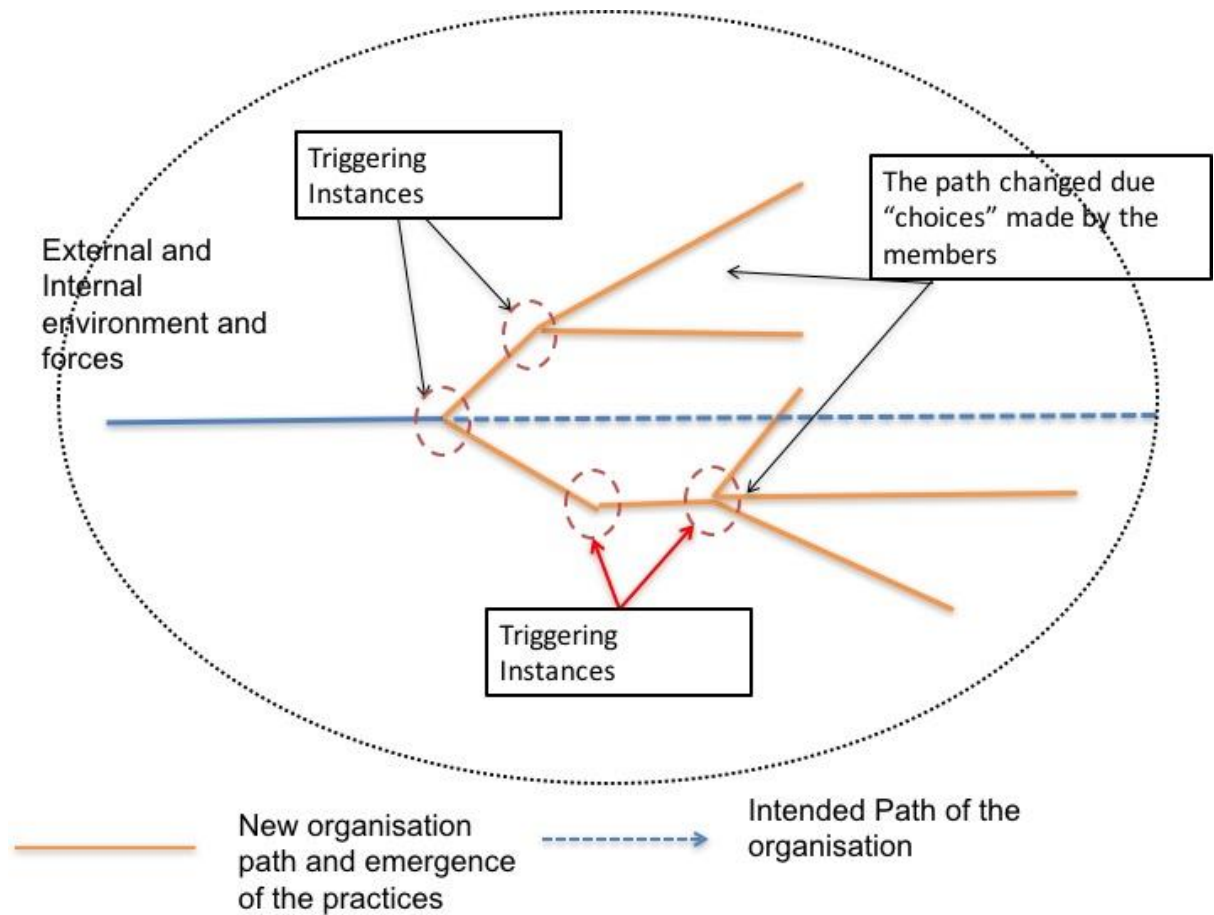
Social activists need to keep their cadre and volunteers motivated throughout the agitation process; therefore, it is important for them to show trivial successes during the life cycle of the protests. It may be called the act of "desperation" for social activists to demonstrate their relevance, but quick wins are critical. Gray (2005) claims in an act-of-war there is a possibility of decisive results by planning "strategic

surprises". Strategic surprises can give open up the strategic window of opportunity (Jorgensen & Sorensen, 1999; Winter, 2004) for SIGs; whereas the establishment won't be ready enough to deal with the sudden change of situation. The collection of the Pink-Chaddis using bikes, the Missed Call, SMS campaign, the surprise late-night mobilisation of volunteers using the Facebook are the examples of activities undertaken by the activists that were not anticipated by the opposing establishment.

A: Triggers

During the socio-technical change, one element in the network can trigger changes in another element (Geels, 2002); that one element can be internal or external to the organisation. Though socio-technical changes are 'emergent and unpredictable' (Russell & Williams, 2002), still integral part of the organisation. Social activist organisation work is highly dynamic, continuously changing the environment that causes triggers, therefore, they have to respond to the changes quickly and efficiently. Triggers are highly publicised events such as nuclear accident or death of a child (Jasper, 1998), in the case of the Pink-Chaddi, the beating of women in Mangalore was the trigger to set up the protest. In IAC, there were many triggering instances were observed during the protest that shaped the course of the protest. The "triggering instances" can be defined as the moment where the organisation is desperate to find a transformative solution. The "choices" made by the social activists trigger a new organisational path (trajectory). The trigger acts as a "tipping point" or an "inflexion point" in that particular path. At the triggering instance, it is essential for the social activist to surprise the opposition to facilitate the quick-win or a solution. Post the triggering instances – organisation could usually afford a new technology that could lead to the different practices.

Fig 7.2.4a: Triggers in Social Movements



Triggering instances can be considered as the "launch-pad", where resources, objectives, tools, capabilities and opportunities all come together, to develop a smart "creative configuration". Then, the leaders of the organisation usually make choices that lead them to try out several creative configurations; some of may fail or succeed. The successful creative configuration further tested out in the social settings to emerge as a practice. The capabilities of the local experts could not be completely "exploited" until there is a triggering instance. I looked at the data that presented several triggering instances in each of the cases. For instance, hacking of website of the Pink Chaddi, non-action by the government, countermeasures by Sri Ram Sene, etc. In IAC, failure of Baba Ramdev rally, rejection of action report by the

government, arrest of Anna Hazare to name a few. Each triggering instance had to be handled with new strategies, new idea and innovation. Hence, there was a stimulus to act and signal of a clear need to do some new innovative experiment that works in developing country environment using low-cost resources.

B: Creative Configuration

A body of writings in technology studies have stressed the co-evolution of technologies and their contexts of use. This metaphor offers a rather generalised description of the processes. But our observations flag a process that is fragmented, full of reversals and unintended / unplanned outcomes. Geels, (2002) argues, technology transition is an evolutionary reconfiguration process that involves changes in the entire societal environment (user practices, regulation, industrial networks, infrastructure, etc.). Rip and Kemp (1998) assert that the technology as 'configurations that work', an alignment between heterogeneous sets of elements (Geels, 2002). It may be agreed; technology is far more mature than just being 'configuration that works'.

The dynamic changes we have seen in the social adoption of technology in the last one and half decades has cemented our belief technology that adoption is patterned by the societal settings. Putting into the perspective of temporary organisations such as single-issue groups, where the "need" for finding the solution is the matter of urgency. It is a necessity for temporary organisations such as single-issue groups to generate an immediate impact of their actions to substantiate their existence and give visibility to their cause. The very fluid nature of a temporary organisation does not allow it to form long-term stable structures; these are more aligned with the strategies of the permanent organisations. On the other hand,

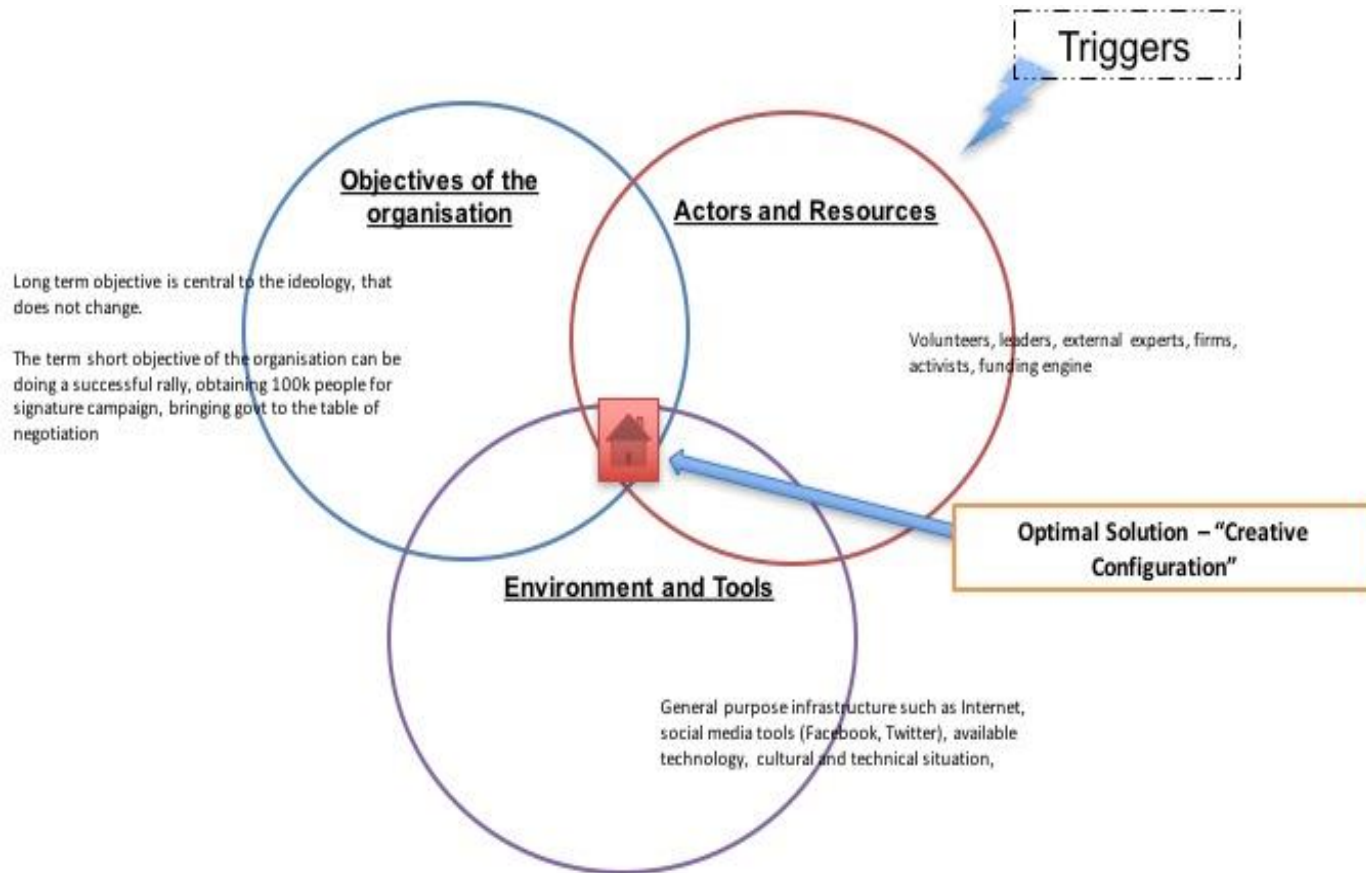
permanent organisations are risk averse because failed or risky activities may challenge their existence. To the contrary, temporary organisations such as SIGs can easily accept risky activities to achieve their short-term goals. The “evolutionary reconfiguration” and “configuration that work” does not clearly address the requirements of the single-issue groups. Gaver (1991) explains two approaches of affordance – cognitive approach and ecological approach. While looking at the empirical data, I found out that in the case of our SIGs, the cognitive approach does not fit well, whereas, ecological approach compliments the data. Ecological approach shuns detailed account of information processing for unnecessary products and particularly in developing country contexts. Thus it links to frugal innovation (Radjou & Prabhu, 2015).

Single-issue groups are pressed for time and resources. They don't have a choice of designing a solution from scratch, whereas by the use of the existing components to save the cost, time and the other resources, SIGs find new solutions. Because temporary organisations such as SIGs usually do not have their technical expertise, they are highly dependent on the general-purpose infrastructure. Temporary organisations "borrow" external expertise or they use the general-purpose infrastructure, such as Internet / mobile phones, to achieve their short-term goals. Flexibility and easy re-configurability make general-purpose infrastructure a default choice for the social activists. For temporary organisations, systematic innovation and investment in R&D, which is expensive and time-consuming, is not much a favourable option. They use principles of 'Jugaad innovation' (Radjou et al., 2012) to come up with the customisable solution that fits their needs and suit the environment they operate in.

In the case of the Pink-Chaddi campaign, the functionality from the general-purpose infrastructure (Facebook, primarily its social networking website) was 'borrowed' to create the activists' page. This was never earlier carried out in India by a social activist organisation. Similarly, the IAC took the assistance of local experts such as social media experts, a commercial firm, website developers and policy experts to come up with several unique solutions that had given them the significant advantage over the establishment.

The ability to borrow the general-purpose infrastructure and smartly customising it by the assistance of local experts is a salient feature of the process which I termed as "**Creative Configuration**". Creative configuration implies a smart and optimal alignment of the events, where the actors use available resources in the given environment to meet the organisation's objectives. The triggering instances provide an opportunity for the SIG leadership to think innovatively and bring together the available resources to configure a solution through smart customisation. Triggers act as an input to the creative configuration process. Triggers are dynamic in nature as they are dependent on the external and internal environmental forces. Therefore, the resource requirement (factors) for the creative configuration changes according to the inputs trigger has provided.

Fig 7.2b: Creative Configuration



The creative configuration could largely dependent on the three key factors:

1. Objectives of the organisation
2. Actors and Resources
3. Environment and Tools

The objective of the organisation is strategically the most critical ones – they can be short term and long term. In the case of a temporary organisations, the achievement of short-term objectives is important to demonstrate the relevance of the organisation. The short-term objectives fuel up the long-term goals for the very reason that the organisation has been formed. In the case of the Pink Chaddi, its long-term objective was to end the discrimination of women, and its short-term

objective was to send the Pink-Chaddis to Sri Ram Sene, to raise the issue and to bring it to the notice of the authorities. In the case of IAC, its long-term objective was to bring Jan Lokpal bill to the conclusion. IAC also had several short-term objectives during its life cycle, such as the formation of a Joint-Action committee, the success of Anna Hazare fast, etc.

Actors and Resources are the vital components of every social movement. Actors could be the leaders, volunteers, local experts, firms supporting the social movement, the media, the government and the public. The principal resources available to the social movement are its ability to raise funds for the activities to be undertaken by the social activist group, the size of the volunteer group, expertise available, and access to the technology.

Environment and Tools refer to the general-purpose infrastructure and tools available in the public domain, such as social media tools (Facebook, Twitter) and telecommunication equipment (mobile phone, SMS). The environment is also aligned with the cultural and technical situation at the locality the events are taking place.

Creative configuration happens when objectives of the organisation, actors and resource and environment, and the tools are all smartly aligned with each other to achieve the most "optimal" solution. The smart alignment constructs a new socio-technical practice – a practice that is unique and possibly never been tried in the past or tried on a minimal scale. The new practice then further tested out to achieve the organisation's goals. It may be noted; this smart alignment is not the "perfect" alignment; however, it is good enough to give an optimal solution to the current

problem. The solution has to be 'reconfigured' several times until an optimal (or at least adequate) solution or a creative configuration has been achieved. The creative configuration depends on the "triggers" – that can be defined as the choices made by the organisation to achieve a particular goal(s). For instance, missed call can be termed as the creative configuration for IAC, and the same term can be given to the blogs for the pink chaddi campaign.

While the organisation's members attempt to develop the "most optimal" solution, they usually have to endure trial and error situations numerous times before the desired result is achieved. The methods and actors go through the social learning (Arrow, 1962; Du Gay et al., 2013; Sørensen, 1996; Williams & Stewart, 2006) and the process of continuous improvement, until the accomplishment of the most optimal solution. "Learning by doing" (Sørensen, 1996; Williams & Stewart, 2006) is not only limited to the members and actors; there is a significant element of "organisational learning" involved in the whole process. The organisation goes through the processes of continuous iterations of testing the solution and its implementation. During the process of arriving at the solution for the institution, the problem definition also gets to be redefined several times. The problem definition is influenced by the short-term and long-term goals for the organisation and the desire to achieve these goals. The technological solution undergoes numerous iterations and reconfigurations until it is mature enough to be accepted culturally, politically and commercially.

Here we deploy the concept of bricolage. This is inspired by Levi-Strauss (1966) whose definition of Bricolage focuses on the creative and imaginative use of available resources. From an STS perspective Fleck (1988a) draws our attention to

the active choice made by organisational users of technologies selecting supplier offerings and configuring them together to create particular configurations that meet their requirements. Bricolage, similarly, involves tailoring of new ideas from available resources for the desired results; whereas, in Jugaad Radjou et al. (2012), give the perspective on how to improvise a solution using ingenuity and cleverness that is relevant in small firms and developing countries' settings. Radjou (2012) provides example of Mitticool village fridge that works without electricity and cost substantially less than the traditional fridges, thus suitable for village environment in countries like India. Jugaad Innovation provides method how the Mitticool fridge is developed, but creative configuration goes much beyond by explaining the process of interaction (adoption, improvement) and innovation with the user groups. Similar, mapping can be done with missed call or other innovative practices adopted by the social activists. Creative configuration explains, why and how innovation happens in resource constrained environment. Creative Configuration focuses more on how a group of actors borrow general purpose infrastructure and, with the assistance of local experts, they creatively configure this infrastructure to develop solutions and new practices. Creative configuration framework goes beyond frugal framework and bricolage concept for network of developers and adopters and their interactions in specific settings, thus inspiring and constructing innovation. Table 7.2.4b highlights the key characteristics of Bricolage, Jugaad and Creative Configuration and relationship among them.

Table 7.2.4b: Bricolage, Jugaad and Creative Configuration

Terminology	Description
Frugal Innovation	Zeschky et al. (2014) described emerging markets as a hub of frugal innovation and good enough innovations, with affordable products which meet the needs of resource constrained customer. Bhatti et al. (2012) discussed frugal innovation as “appropriate, adaptable, affordable and accessible solutions, products and services”. Radjou and Prabhu (2015) elaborated the six principles of frugal innovation: “1) Engage and iterate, 2) Flex your assets, 3) Create sustainable solutions, 4) Shape customer behaviour, 5) Co-create value with prosumer and 6) Make Innovative friends”. Example of frugal innovation are Mittcool village fridge and Narayana Hrudayalaya (heart hospital) - a path-breaking model of delivering affordable heart surgery.
Bricolage	Bhatti, Khilji and Basu, (2012) defined bricolage as an activity that involve immediate relatives, friends and volunteers who look for pre-existing materials for re-use (alternative use) and built upon existing skills, knowledge allowing a venture to originate and build potential capabilities to achieve innovation and sustainability. Simply put, Bricolage, is nothing but the creative and imaginative use of available resources for the desired result (Büscher et al., 2001). Example of bricolage can be taken from computer world – programmers use a trial-and-error approach for developing websites (form of bricolage) by collecting material from a wide range of sources to present it to their users.

Creative Configuration	Creative configuration extended the literature of frugal innovation and bricolage by highlighting the creative role of local actors in technology innovation process. It explained the process of how local experts use (or borrow) infrastructure to develop solutions and new practices. To overcome the challenge of sustainability of the innovation process - creative configuration used the principles of social learning (Sørensen, 1996) in resource constraints environments to develop low cost smart solutions. One of the main issue in the innovation process that due to several roadblocks in the path, the strategy of innovation has to be changed many times. The thought process of innovation and actual implementation may be different but why and how is rarely explained in the examples used in the literature. Eventually, it explored the ideas of frugal and bricolage. Creative Configuration provides a foundation for enhanced understanding of innovation process particularly towards sustainability.

I have to acknowledge, the creative configuration does not solve the long-standing innovation challenge, whereas, it provides a solution that is smart and most appropriate under the given settings. That does not mean that the solution is only one-time use, it can be sustainable and can be used for a long time. The solution can also emerge as the commercial practice as we have seen through the example of the missed-call.

7.2.5 Emergence of New Practices and the Role of Local Experts

Previous sections discuss how the external/local experts are critical for creative configuration. In single-issue groups, local experts borrow the general-purpose infrastructure to reconfigure the optimal solution to reach the goal of the group. Team

Anna heavily relied on external experts and intermediaries (Stewart, 2002; Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008) for doing the more specialised technical tasks, such as website creation, Facebook page updates, etc. Though the majority of the expert tasks were handled by locally available expertise (volunteers), more critical tasks, such as handling of the missed call database, were given to the paid external agencies (Netcore Technologies) to maintain consistency and security. The external experts or as Stewart (2002,2007) calls them Local Experts become a critical factor for the creative configuration.

Technology has become an important factor for the success of the single-issue groups for short-term gains, however, for operationalising the solutions SIG lack local expertise. The social activist organisation lacks the formal organisation's capabilities such as the steady flow of funds to hire the personnel to resolve their issues. During the empirical work, I found that they "discover" the experts among the volunteers or take them through "referrals". Such type of individuals are referred in the literature as 'volunteer experts' (Hess et al., 2008; Stewart, 2002) hired for technical tasks. In the Pink Chaddi case, Nisha Susan requested the friends and distributed the technical work (Facebook page handling, blog management) to those who were familiar with the operations. In IAC, Shivendra Singh Chouhan asked people to volunteers for website creation and Facebook administration. He further explored his associates whom he has known from previous assignments to volunteer for the cause as they were experts. Many volunteers did not participate in the rallies or another protest, still, they provided their expertise to the group.

It was observed, the dynamic nature of social activism, lack of resources (funds, people, support) and continuous struggle to find the creative configuration have

caused the extraordinary necessity for the local experts for the single-issue groups. Though the experts were excellent in what they did, still many of them have never handled a campaign on the scale of the IAC's or even the Pink Chaddi. Experts, leaders and volunteers experimented trial-and-error approach with various tasks by learning by doing (Williams & Stewart, 2006; Williams et al., 2005). Though established organisations have money to hire experience consultants – but with the problem is that those consultants not necessarily being interested in advancing the cause or goal of their clients. For SIGs, the volunteer experts are passionate and dedicated about the cause, therefore, SIGs I have studied have succeeded in their goals despite of limited resources.

Another challenge was the lack of "proper briefing" given to the local experts. Formal organisations follow more structured approaches towards problem-solving. They have standard documentation, access to historical data, trend analysis and futuristic predictions that support the decision-making process. In the temporary organisation, such as social activist organisation, there is no such standardisation is present. The imperative is to produce the quick-wins to keep up the morale. The final goal is clear that is the centre of the cause. However, the clarity on short-term achievement is missing. Therefore, the local experts have to devise strategies "on-the-go" to make the solution work. Also, given the lack of support infrastructure, they borrow the general-purpose infrastructure which is either freely available or at a meagre cost. Still, there is no guarantee whether the effort would yield any fruits or not. Local experts have to continuously engage themselves with the other stakeholders of the group to understand the changing environment so that they can improvise their solution accordingly.

SIGs dependence on local experts cannot be ignored. The local experts hired by SIGs are volunteers who may employed as full-time employees elsewhere, they came into contact with SIGs as they were attracted to the cause. Evidence shows that the SIGs increasingly needs technology for their outreach and growth, therefore, role of experts would be poised to become more critical for the newer SIGs of the future. SIGs with greater access to the expertise would have higher chance of success than SIGs with no or little access to experts. There is a 'value' outside of the campaign for the local experts and for the local innovations that are developed. The local experts gain valuable experience during the whole process, that they can use in their regular jobs. The local innovations (emerging new practices) can be made commercially available once they are productised and packaged as per the customer needs.

The creative configurations and engagement of the local experts to find the smart solution has caused in the development of new practices such as missed call. Missed call was successfully implemented to connect with millions of potential supporters across the country with inadequate cost infrastructure. The cultural habit of missed call coupled with technological expertise from a commercial company (Netcore) paved the way for a large-scale deployment with the single-issue group such as IAC. The missed call eventually find its way in the commercial space, and it was launched a paid service in India. Banks, financial institutions, customer care companies and even politicians subscribed to the service of missed call post IAC success. Firms such as zipdial were founded offering missed call as service that raised the substantial value in the market (Annexure). Zipdial was acquired by

Twitter⁴⁷ In 2015 for \$30 million. These commercial companies have multinational clients to whom they assigned a special dedicated number where their customers can give a missed call, and the company would call them back with more information on their products and service. Zipdial has used this method to run contests for the companies. Missed call was used by politicians like Indian current Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and Bollywood superstar Shahrukh Khan⁴⁸. "Zipdial has done the lot of work with NGOs to drive public support for the cause" (Zipdial Co-founder)⁴⁹. Similar sentiments were echoed by the Netcore team, "Missed call become the commercial reality after the success of IAC" (interview notes). The Zipdial team reiterated though the concept of missed call exists but IAC has shown the way how to deploy the service in a large, sustainable environment thus making it commercially viable option.

The emergence of (technology) new practices can be attributed to the social phenomenon and social acceptance. Facebook was launched to connect college friends with each other. However, it emerged as an advertising platform for the firms as the adoption rate increases. Similar examples can be seen many firms engaged in public outreach; the services offered changed or modified with the emerging social practices.

⁴⁷ Twitter acquires India based 'Missed Call' startup Zipdial
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/saritharai/2015/01/20/twitter-acquires-india-based-missed-call-firm-zipdial/#77f1c8547741> (retrieved in September 2016)

⁴⁸ Twitter acquires India based 'Missed Call' startup Zipdial
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/saritharai/2015/01/20/twitter-acquires-india-based-missed-call-firm-zipdial/#77f1c8547741> (retrieved in September 2016)

⁴⁹ Interview done with Cofounder of Zipdial as the follow-up interview to understand the impact of missed call on commercial world.

7.3 Action Framework for Sustainable Local Innovations

The thesis has contributed to our learning on how single issue groups appropriate technology and adopt local innovations. The thematic analysis pointed us towards the need for the development of a framework that would outline the technology appropriation and creative configuration in given socio-technical settings.

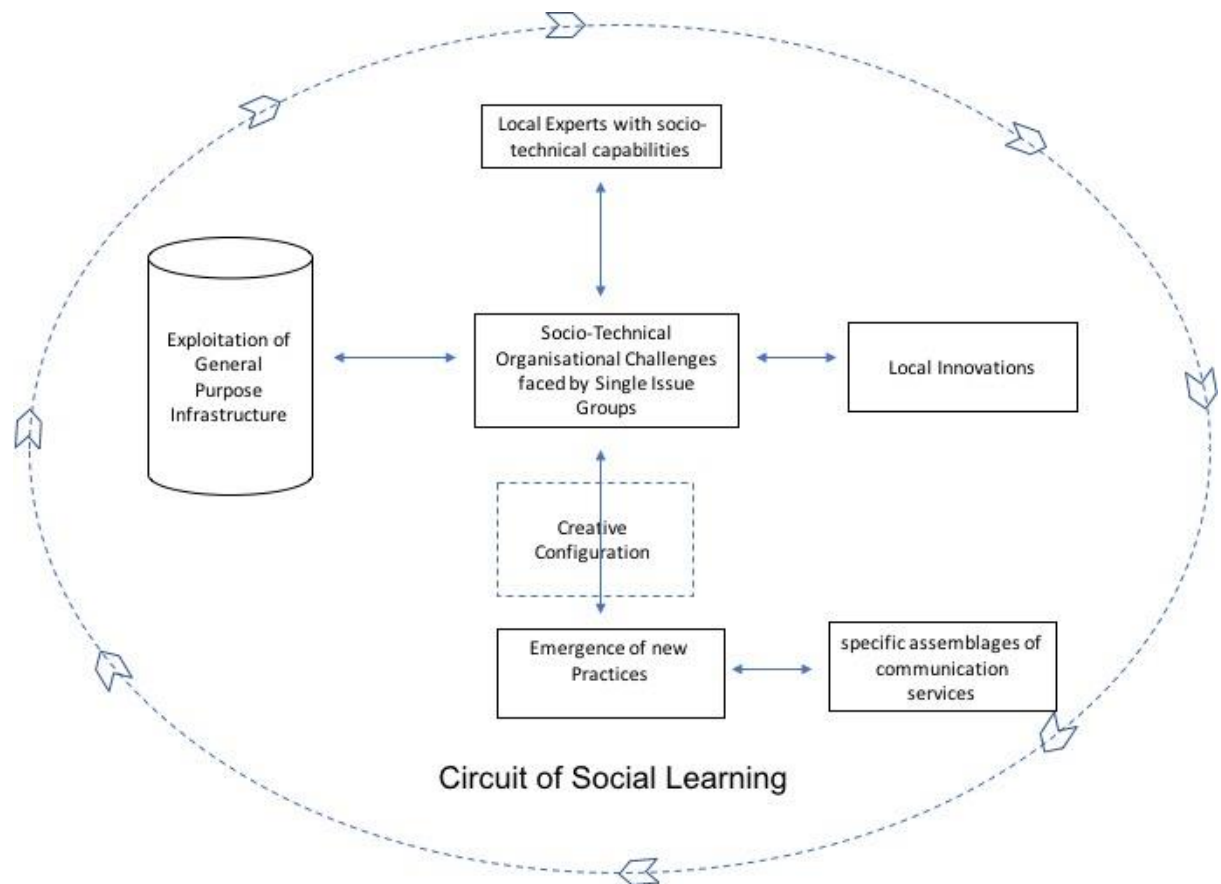
In the discussions in previous sections, through the empirical evidence, I was able to present how SIGs formed the ideas, adopt them and connect to others. SIGs covered as part of this research have reconfigured the technology, built their affordances and redefined the functional purpose (Mackay & Gillespie, 1992). Further, I have demonstrated how the appropriation process is a continuous negotiation (Bar et al., 2016) and how technological reconfiguration to distribute the benefit of technology among the larger group of stakeholders. Though the contextual use (or alternative affordances) of technology creates an unexpected tension between user, environment and technology, however, the creative configuration has assisted SIGs in exploring the new participatory design (Scanlon, 2010). The interactions of technology with the members of the SIGs have determined their contextual affordance (Gaver, 1991) leading to developing local innovations.

The creatively configured product/service have the higher chance of acceptability than the off-the-shelf product because creatively configured products are developed through social interactions with the stakeholders, thus confirming the notion of user-centricity in the innovation process (Von Hippel, 2005a). Also, we have learned that not every creatively configured solution is satisfactory; although we can say, there could be acceptance or rejections of alternatives. The new practices emerge after several iterations over the period that can be a continuous, interactive and a cyclic

process. The users and stakeholders play a fundamental responsibility of controlling the process with unremitting exchange and feedback during the whole course of development (Sørensen, 1996; Stewart & Hyysalo, 2008).

The thesis supports William and Stewart (2006) definition of social learning and provides the applied examples that confirm their claims on how social activist learnt from each other and creatively configured technology for their benefits. One of my goals is to examine the technology appropriation in the context of social learning. Technology appropriation is highly unpredictable (Williams et al., 2005), so is innovation. There is an absence of any comprehensive framework that guides development of local innovations for SIGs in developing countries context. Therefore, an action framework is proposed to provide some sense of predictability for sustainable local innovation. The proposed 'action framework for sustainable local innovations' can be used for adoption and manifestation of technological solutions in social settings, particularly for the single-issue groups.

Fig 7.3.1: Action Framework for Sustainable Local Innovations



This framework is the synthesis of my analysis that is conscripted within the boundaries of social and technical appropriation. Single-issue groups face several socio-technical organisational challenges during their lifetime. In the initial stages of formation, most of the time, SIGs are dependent on existing methods (off-the-shelf) solutions. As the time passes by, there is pressure on SIGs to register a quick-win to maintain their credibility and keep up the motivation. Given the lack of resources to the SIGs, they have to depend on the locally available experts committed towards the cause (either within the group or external expertise) (Stewart, 2002, 2007). These local experts can mediate general-purpose functionality to resolve the issues. Therefore, they borrow the general-purpose infrastructure to reconfigure the smart

and optimal solution that I have earlier termed as creative configuration. The consequence of creatively configured solutions/services/methods is the emergence of new practices. These embryonic new practices are then tested by the user groups providing the opportunity for further development. This circuit of social learning is governed by the learning process to explore affordances within the precincts of technical and social appropriation. But of course, there are new challenges incessantly coming in the way of SIGs. For instance, in case the of IAC ran out of money to give to the external local expert to maintain SMS and missed-call. They have to carve a new path of discovery. Therefore, the process of finding sustainable local innovation is recurrent.

This prescriptive framework induces some predictability to the social and technology appropriation by identifying the stakeholders and their innovation needs involved in both solutions providing and as users. Williams et al. (2005) have warned us about the unpredictable nature of the technology appropriation. Pollock and Williams (2010) argue, "Today's imagined future-proof systems rapidly become tomorrow's legacy systems" (p18). I agree, the needs and requirements of the users keep changing, and it is dependent on the several internal and external forces. That's why the interaction between users and developers cannot be one-way-street. In the proposed framework, there would be a continuous exchange of ideas, and it would be an interactive dialogue between developers and users. Therefore, the solutions would constantly be 'upgraded' to suit the local needs at the given time-frame, hence inducing predictability.

To understand the difference between commercial and non-commercial solution offering - let us look at this framework from another dimension of a commercial

business. The proposed framework can be pivoted to develop a commercial solution. The underlying aim of the commercial business is to make money - or using management terminology - to create value for the shareholders. The advantage with SIG is that they have access to passionate volunteers working for a cause (usually unpaid), whereas commercial organisations have to pay the experts to reconfigure same products. Also, SIG has access to a larger crowd willing to adopt/test the product as it would benefit the cause, thus providing the critical user testing scenario in actual settings. Therefore, SIGs are better placed than businesses to experiment with the new methods and processes. At the same time, there are some disadvantages with SIGs; they are not in the best position to raise capital, unlike the business where the sole motive is to provide value to the shareholders. Commercial organisations can employ dedicated resources for adapting the general-purpose technologies and further developing a creatively configured product/service that can be offered as paid service. Missed call is the best example that is widely available as commercial service that is frequented by banks, retail companies and even by governments/political parties to gather opinion or to sell their offerings.

The framework once tested empirically and theoretically can be expanded in both social and commercial organisations especially in the resource environment of developing the world. Looking at the cases described in the thesis, this action framework certainly proves its applicability. The framework has to be tested rigorously for suitability in various social and business settings, thus providing an opportunity for the future research.

7.4 Limitations and Future Research

This research has looked at the pragmatic aspects of society and technology by blending the prior work on appropriation in STS with relevant work from innovation studies and business studies. Through this inquiry, I was curious in finding the answers to the research questions related to technology appropriation by single-issue groups. The first research question is about the appropriation of ICT media and services appropriated by various single-issue groups. Further, I was interested in exploring how this appropriation of new media and tools with their different affordances helping in constructing distinctive organisational forms in the Indian social movements. I have discussed how social activists are able to shape technologies to their purpose through a process we characterise as creative configuration.

7.4.1 Limitations

Social activists learn from each other and engage in social innovation in a highly unpredictable environment (Williams & Stewart, 2006; Williams et al., 2005). This is possible with or without technology, though technology opens up the new opportunities. In my research, I studied how single issue group organisations can appropriate technology and engage in social learning. Within developing countries, technology can have appropriated in many ways by the local experts. I presented only two cases and see a great potential to develop further studies to engage a wider range of types of appropriation of technology and multiple contextual affordance. The action framework and concept of creative configuration emerged from my empirical data but needs to be further tested in several cases and settings.

This study revolved around two contrasting case studies of the early adoption of social media in Indian political organisation. The Pink Chaddi case was a 'born digital' campaign, a pioneering example in India; whereas, India Against Corruption (IAC) was a traditional single-issue group that was formed to raise the voice for a cause of corruption in government. Though, case study method provided in-depth exemplar of a problem, the generalisation of cases is usual issue (Yin, 1994).

I have partly overcome the limitation of case studies as highlighted by (Yin, 1994) by comparing two distinct groups. In designing the research, I needed to make a careful trade-off between breadth and depth. I started by mapping some potential case study contexts but eventually decided to focus on developing detailed studies of a limited number of cases to gain a deeper understanding of the processes by which they appropriated technology and developed new practices.

Though the method of comparing two illustrative cases is grounded in reality and supported me in understanding complex relationship of society and technology appropriation (and even with just two cases I was swamped with extensive data). The comparative study of two cases has carefully examined the data within two particular contexts for single issue groups. However, India is a vast country and interviewees were based on different geographical locations which posed several issues in appointments. I selected two cases which were early adopters of new media: The Pink Chaddi campaign and IAC. This gave me a chance to assess the emergence and subsequent evolution of these cases. I chose two distinct cases – both a traditional political organisation and a born digital campaign. I have Identified interviewees who have contextual knowledge of conditions and conducting research into these developments in a large developing country like India was challenging.

The sample of potential respondents was large, dispersed and highly differentiated; therefore, I needed to develop an effective sampling strategy to engage with a sufficiently diverse range of experiences – and triangulating between different respondents and even secondary data. Interviewees were passionate about campaigns; therefore, interview duration was longer than expected. This resulted in large transcripts and more time taken for the data analysis.

I have used purposive sampling for data collection that created the issue of disaggregated data spread across various platforms which lead me to explore the network of networks (snowball sampling) (Patton, 2002). I am aware that there could be researcher bias while using the purposive sampling (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008), I was able to mitigate this risk by employing triangulation of data. Another way to deal with research bias was that I was continuously in touch with my supervisors during my field work. Therefore, the supervisors were able to provide me with the guidance on the appropriate sampling strategy for interview candidates. Moreover, I have combined snowball sampling with purposive sampling to expand the sampling base. Snowball sampling assisted me in reaching out to the next potential interviewee.

Arranging and conducting interviews was particularly time-consuming. There is always a potential to explore more interviews; however, I was forced to call an end to the fieldwork after 43 interviews considering time restrictions. Interviews continued to the point of near saturation at which additional interviews produced only marginal improvements in overall understanding. A robust account of the two cases was achieved. Other kinds of analysis might have been possible with a larger number of samples and some respondents. However, the fieldwork undertaken allowed me to make meaningful comparisons and to identify a range of appropriation process and

communication practices. It, therefore, provides a healthy evidence base for the inferences drawn. In particular, the analytical framework development allowed me to identify commonalities in process across different settings within both cases. In making these assumptions, I have been careful to reflect upon the uneven strength of available evidence. My research has revealed upon the important aspects allowing us to make more informed decisions.

7.4.2 Future Research

The thesis opens up a host of avenues for future studies. The research process has generated quite an enormous amount of empirical data and, given the limitations of time and resources, some of the issues envisaged in the research design were explored and analysed in more detail than others. It provides an excellent opportunity for the future research; more inferences can be drawn from the empirical data to answer a different set of questions.

My empirical findings revealed two cases of the Pink Chaddi Campaign and India Against Corruption (IAC). The former reveals a pioneering case of online social activism and latter has shown how traditional activists used new media to its advantage. Due to time limitations and resource limitations, I was able to conduct 43 semi-structured interviews. In future, similar research can be undertaken at much larger level with extended resources and with more number of researchers. In that case, sampling base and empirical base can also be expanded to have more concrete results.

Recent events such as Narmada Bachao Aandolan (NBA) by Medha Patkar, has risen as an interesting case in India to safeguard the rights of tribal population

(around 40,000 people) who were not given due displacement benefits in construction of a dam. Though tribal communities have minimal access to phone and network, Facebook and new media has been extensively used to disseminate the information about the campaign. Students (Local experts) from Indian Institute of Technology (IITs) are joining to understand the context and resolve the issues in resource context environment. As tribal communities don't use phone or internet, technology needs to be appropriated different to suit the context. Creative configuration and action framework have a potential to be tested in such cases in the future.

As discussed earlier, the framework can be tested in different settings in India and similar cases abroad. Recently, we have seen several single-issue movements in UK and other parts of the world e.g. Brexit, Scottish Referendum to name a few. My framework can be applied to these case that would give ample breath for having diversified results from different countries. We can see whether this pattern of frugal innovation is a phenomenon only in resource constrained environment of the developing world or it has a relevance in the developed world as well.

The research has identified the emerging similarities between the single-issue groups and temporary organisations. There exists an opportunity to further in-depth study of the concepts proposed in the thesis such as creative configuration and how they unfold in different settings. There is a lack of comparative studies on the social movements throughout the world in general, which needs attention (Della Porta, 2006) and more particularly between the developed and developing countries. The difference between the social movements and social organisations regarding the processes, systems, structures and how they might benefit the society at large has

not yet been discussed. In my thesis, the long-standing social issues, such as moral policing and anti-corruption bill, have been addressed but how social movements as temporary organisations can also lead to the social opportunities and social entrepreneurship (Zahra et al., 2008) have not yet been explored. There is an opportunity to build a generic framework that can be reused and adopted by both temporary organisation and permanent organisations in different settings.

This research provides perhaps the first detailed bottom-up description of the appropriation of social media by single issue groups. There are ample opportunities to extend the research in other developing countries, multi-issue groups and further case studies. I found some evidence and logic in structure and working of the single-issue group as the temporary organisation. Insights from organisational theories can be linked to STS for developing a more profound understanding. A detailed, multi-cases research has a potential to explore how different societies appropriate technology. Larger scale studies might allow detection of patterns of the various types such as technology appropriation to society, culture, and country. Sustainability of single issue groups is one of the major problems. Sustainability of single issue groups and technology appropriation can provide a new area of research. Creative configuration concept can be used for different social context to enhance the sustainability of social movements. Thesis brought attention to several 'online' and 'offline' strategies used by single issue group. There is an immense scope for 'strategic development of social movements' while linking STS with strategy literature. I have discussed action framework for sustainable local innovation in the context of single-issue groups. The framework can be studied in the context of

other organisations; it can be further tested empirically and theoretically in different settings. If tested successfully, the framework can be developed as the model.

Overall, the research has given me a great opportunity to explore the new horizons; I am continuing to do so.

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